

# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study* of Rural Life

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Critique of Rural Sociology Research.....  
.....Marvin J. Taves and Neal Gross

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The Small Village: 1940-1950.....Edmund deS. Brunner

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Scale for Measuring Community Solidarity.....Donald R. Fessler

Decision-Making within Community Organization.....Paul A. Miller

Scale Analysis of Adoption of Practices.....Helen C. Abell

Research Notes

Book Reviews

Applied Sociology Notes

Current Bulletin Reviews

News Notes and Announcements

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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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# A CRITIQUE OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY RESEARCH, 1950\*

by Marvin J. Taves† and Neal Gross††

## ABSTRACT

This paper presents the findings of a critical appraisal of twenty-six research studies in rural sociology published in 1950. Special emphasis is given to methodology and adequacy of reporting. The major deficiencies noted were in lack of theoretical orientation, lack of concern for adequacy in sampling, shortcomings in the utilization of measurement instruments, and lack of concern for control of other possibly explanatory variables.

## INTRODUCTION

Twenty years hence, the first years of the 1950's will probably be called the "era of criticism" in rural sociology. Whether this period will also be called the "critical era" is an interesting speculation.

This is the "era of criticism," for, although at previous periods in the history of rural sociology there have been efforts<sup>1</sup> to determine where we are, where we should be going, and how we should get there, this is the period when a number of subcommittees of the Rural Sociological Society are critically appraising the many problem areas in the sociology of rural life.

That this may be a "critical era" is witnessed by the difference in opinion<sup>2</sup>

over whether practical problems or sociological problems should have been the criterion for establishing the work of the several subcommittees.

Since the Rural Sociological Society as a whole is engaged in a critical examination of rural sociological research, the Research Committee of the society was uncertain as to what task, if any, it should undertake during 1951. It was finally agreed that the committee might sponsor a methodological appraisal of current research in rural sociology. This paper is the result.<sup>3</sup>

Because the critical attitude is an indispensable part of the development of any science, it makes sense to appraise what has transpired in order to improve what is to come. It is this, and only this, motivation that underlies the preparation of this paper.

The paper examines critically research in rural sociology published during the year 1950. The task is arbitrarily limited to the research published in *Rural Sociology* and in the bulletins of the Agricultural Experiment Stations during that year. The analysis includes those fourteen articles and those twelve bulletins which reported on a specific research project. This appraisal particularly emphasizes research methodology and the adequacy or completeness of reporting.

\*Revision of the paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Madison, Wis., Sept. 2, 1951.

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<sup>1</sup> Dwight Sanderson, C. C. Taylor, and C. E. Lively, *The Field of Research in Rural Sociology*, U.S.D.A., B.A.E., Washington, D. C., 1938; also see W. A. Anderson, "Rural Sociology as Science," *Rural Sociology*, XII (Dec., 1947), 347-56; Robin M. Williams, "Review of Current Research in Rural Sociology," *Rural Sociology*, XI (June, 1946), 103-114; E. deS. Brunner, "Sociology Tomorrow," *Rural Sociology*, XI (June, 1946), 95-162; Lowry Nelson, "Rural Sociology—Dimensions and Horizons," *Rural Sociology*, X (June, 1945), 131-135; C. E. Lively, "Rural Sociology as an Applied Science," *Rural Sociology*, VIII (Dec., 1943), 331-342.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Sewell, "Needed Research in Rural Sociology," *Rural Sociology*, XV (June, 1950), 115-125.

<sup>3</sup> Although this paper was sponsored by the Research Committee, the committee is not to be held responsible for the findings or conclusions.

## THE PROCEDURE UTILIZED

The first requirement for any appraisal is a standard against which to measure the material to be evaluated. In setting up standards, the goal was to include those research standards on which there seemed to be considerable consensus among students of research methodology. Some criteria that others would include may have been omitted, and other criteria that some might not consider too important may have been included. It is also recognized that in the application of these criteria there may be some discrepancy from person to person in interpretation of both the criteria and the content of the reports. It was for this reason that the two authors each independently applied the evaluative standards to the various research reports and then compromised the few discrepancies that occurred. In several cases the authors of the articles or bulletins examined the appraisal of their work and indicated that they were substantially in agreement with it.

One word of caution is in order. Any such evaluation of current research must necessarily depend upon the published reports. Therefore this critique may have to be looked upon as a critique of research reports rather than of research projects. Writers of these reports seem frequently to have forgotten the reader's unfamiliarity with the project being reported. As will be noted later, some of the most elementary and essential facts necessary to the adequate understanding and possible evaluation of a project were omitted.

In a few cases, because of their familiarity with the men or the project, the writers of the critique could have supplied essentials missing from the published report. In every case, however, the objective was to evaluate the published report as such, rather than the project as it might be known to the reviewers.

## THE CRITERIA AND THEIR APPLICATION

The standard of evaluation developed and utilized here has four main parts. The first deals with the orientation of the study; the second, the characteristics of the data; the third, the treatment of the data; and the fourth, the conclusions of the report.

A few words are in order in regard to how the several researches were judged. It was first asked, "Is it appropriate to apply the criterion to the particular research?"<sup>4</sup> It obviously makes no sense to appraise the adequacy of the sampling procedure when the investigator was dealing with a population rather than a sample. If the criterion was appropriate, it was then asked, "Did he, or did he not, make any effort to meet the criterion?" For example, if sampling was involved, did the author make any effort to ascertain the representativeness of the sample, or not? If the answer to the question was "yes," the next question was whether the effort was reasonably successful. If the critic's answer was "yes," the research was judged adequate; if "no," inadequate. For example, if the report gave reasonable assurance as to the representativeness of the sample, this aspect of the sampling procedure was judged satisfactory.

As another example, consider the criterion of legitimate use of analytical techniques. If there was evidence that the basic assumptions involved in the

<sup>4</sup>It might be argued that some Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletins are addressed to the layman as well as the profession and that such reports should not be held to the same methodological standards as those addressed more exclusively to the profession. Where such an excuse seemed reasonably applicable on a specific criterion, the report was placed in the "not apply" category on that criterion. At the same time it must be reiterated that these so-called laymen's reports are often the only ones made available to the profession. In such cases their scientific value is jeopardized unless the more stringent methodological requirements are also met.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF 1950 RURAL SOCIOLOGY RESEARCH REPORTS  
ON SELECTED CRITIQUE FACTORS

Criteria	Effort to Meet the Criteria:				
	Adequate	Inadequate	None	Not Apply	Proportion Acceptable
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Per cent
<b>A. Orientation:</b>					
1. Statement of objectives.....	19	4	3	0	73
2. Statement of hypotheses.....	9	4	11	2	38
3. Theoretical orientation.....	2	2	22	0	8
4. Definitions of key concepts:					
a. Conceptual.....	16	4	1	5	76
b. Operational.....	22	3	0	1	88
5. Orientation to previous research...	8	9	7	2	33
<b>B. Characteristics of data:</b>					
1. Concrete definition of universe....	18	3	5	0	69
2. Sampling:					
a. Procedure reported.....	7	2	4	13	54
b. Representativeness assured.....	2	5	7	12	14
c. Checked against population data.	1	3	9	13	8
3. Meaningfulness of data:					
a. Adequacy of instruments used:					
(1) Standardized instruments...	2	5	*11	8	11
(2) Standardized new instru-					
ments.....	2	2	*10	12	14
(3) Validity of measures.....	11	0	*8	7	58
(4) Reliability of measures....	7	2	*10	7	37
b. Competent application of in-					
struments:					
(1) Trained interviewers.....	6	1	*12	7	32
(2) Experimenter-subject rap-					
port.....	3	0	*17	6	15
(3) Favorable interview or					
testing conditions.....	4	0	*16	6	20
c. Secondary sources judiciously					
utilized and acknowledged....	17	1	4	4	77
<b>C. Treatment of data:</b>					
1. Accuracy of mathematics.....					
2. Legitimate use of analytical tech-					
niques.....	20	1	4	1	80
3. Control of associated variables:					
a. Cross-classification by 3-way					
table.....	4	4	8	10	25
b. Statistical controls by:					
(1) Correlation techniques....	1	5	11	9	6
(2) Covariance techniques....	1	1	15	9	6
c. Experimental designs.....	1	3	15	7	5
<b>D. Conclusions:</b>					
1. Clear statement of conclusions....	21	1	4	0	81
2. Limits of generalizations.....	11	5	9	1	44
3. Limitations of study and sugges-					
tions for improvement.....	9	1	16	0	35
4. Statement of suggested future					
studies.....	10	0	16	0	38
5. Orientation of findings:					
a. To problem area.....	11	5	10	0	42
b. To general theory.....	5	6	15	0	19

\*Includes reports which did not give the nature of the instruments used, the training of interviewers, or the conditions under which instruments were applied.

use of the technique were not fulfilled, the research was judged inadequate on this score.

#### ORIENTATION

In attempting to evaluate the adequacy of the orientation of the study, five questions were asked: (1) Is there a direct statement of objectives? (2) Is the research theoretically oriented as to its position and importance in the field of sociology? (3) Are the hypotheses clearly and specifically stated? (4) Is there a definition of key concepts, either conceptually or operationally? (5) Is the research tied in with previous research, or is the report left to stand by itself as an *ad hoc* effort?

Only one of the fourteen journal articles and two of the twelve bulletins completely omitted a direct statement of objectives (Table 1). Of the twenty-three reports including a direct statement of objectives, four had extremely vague statements and were therefore judged to be inadequate in this respect. In all, then, over a fourth of the reports were judged to fall below minimum acceptable standards on this criterion. An example of one of the more acceptable statements was the following: "The focus of this paper is upon (1) the relative importance of different sources of information about farm matters; (2) the influence of socio-economic status upon sources of information utilized, and (3) relationship of source of information and content."<sup>5</sup> In the report, this statement was further amplified by the listing of a series of questions to be answered by the study.

The next consideration was, "Is there a clear statement of the specific relationships or associations between variables which the study proposed to test?"

Unless hypotheses are clearly formulated, it is difficult to understand how the investigator can decide what are the relevant data he must obtain to carry out his investigation. This criterion is certainly a desideratum for an acceptable piece of research. Just half of the twenty-six reports reflected any efforts to meet this criterion. Of the thirteen, four were judged inadequate because of their ambiguity.

The next criterion was, "Were the hypotheses related to a sociological theory?" As Williams has said, "It is literally impossible to study anything without having a conceptual scheme, explicit or implicit. This being true, best results are to be expected when (a) the scheme is clearly formulated, and (b) the theoretical framework is one which already contains concepts proven useful in practice, and from which the widest possible scientific implications can be drawn!"<sup>6</sup> Williams further emphasized "that a main road to added *scientific* stature for rural sociology is that of sharper and more systematic theory."

The basic question then for this appraisal was, "Did the hypotheses even remotely emanate from a theoretical scheme, or were they simply the subjective hunches or guesses of the investigator?" Only four of the researches showed any attempt at a theoretical orientation. Although the paucity of effort toward theoretical orientation is clear, the fact that there is at least some effort in this direction indicates that the advancement of the scientific stature of rural sociology, alluded to by Williams, is being taken seriously by some investigators.

The effectiveness of communication is directly related to the degree to which a common interpretation is given to the symbols of communication by writer and reader. The concepts of

<sup>5</sup> E. A. Wilkening, "Acceptance of Innovations in Farming," *Rural Sociology*, XV (March, 1950), p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.



sociology are frequently not crystallized to a point where they have an unequivocal and identical meaning for all in the profession. Social participation, for instance, was used with differing referents in the materials reviewed. Consequently, it becomes essential to define key concepts in order that the social phenomena being considered may be made explicit. Such terms may be defined either conceptually or operationally. The findings (Table 1) indicate that almost all of the authors employed some form of conceptual and operational definition. However, many left some of their key concepts ambiguous. In seven cases, efforts at definition were judged inadequate.

The final criterion of orientation required relating the project to previous research in the same subject area. A strong defense of the need for this has been made by Merton,<sup>8</sup> Williams,<sup>9</sup> and Sewell.<sup>10</sup> The discipline of rural sociology has matured to the point where most research can be built to some extent on previous investigation, and frequently current research is a retest of earlier findings. It is incumbent upon the researcher not only to acquaint himself thoroughly with such research but also to summarize it for the reader—unless such research has become common knowledge within the profession, in which case reference to it should suffice. It would be a rare case when no previous research bearing upon the problem at hand is available, or when all research on the problem is so well known as not to need to be recalled briefly to the reader's mind.

This criterion (orientation to previous research) was judged not to apply to one of the articles and to one of

the bulletins. Of the other twenty-four reports, two-thirds contained evidence of some attempt at such orientation. One-third were judged successful. Interestingly enough, the journal articles were more often judged satisfactory on this point than the bulletins,<sup>11</sup> although space limitations are generally more severe in the journal than in the bulletins.

Adequacy in this case was interpreted as meaning the inclusion of reference to, and a summary of, pertinent, readily available, published research. An example of one of the more acceptable yet brief statements in this regard was, "Other studies have been made in a somewhat similar field although not necessarily of the same nature. For instance, Hill and Christensen in a Wisconsin study found that there was a relationship between nationality and religious background and the size of the farm family. Stouffer in an earlier study in Wisconsin also found a relationship between religious and nationality background and the size of the family. We have tried to show that fertility has declined at a differential rate and some of this decline is related to cultural factors."<sup>12</sup> References were given directing the reader to the original studies.

It is of interest to note that not one of the researches failed to meet at least half of the criteria in this area. Nevertheless, only two of the articles and none of the bulletins survived without any criticism as to orientation.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DATA

The second major aspect to which the critique directed attention was that of the characteristics of the data. The specific questions asked were: (1) Did

<sup>8</sup> R. K. Merton, "The Bearing of Empirical Research upon the Development of Sociological Theory," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (Oct., 1948), 505-15.

<sup>9</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Sewell, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> This may in part reflect editorial policy of the journal.

<sup>12</sup> D. G. Marshall, "The Decline in Farm Family Fertility and Its Relationship to Nationality and Religious Background," *Rural Sociology*, XV (March, 1950), 42-43.



the author attempt a concrete definition of the population universe? (2) Where sampling was used, was it adequately reported, was it representative, and, if so, did the author present evidence concerning its representativeness? (3) How meaningful were the data which were obtained? Specifically, how adequate were the instruments; how competently were these instruments applied; how judiciously were secondary sources utilized, and, if utilized, was the reader apprised of their origin?

Without a concrete conception of the population universe from which data for a given study have been drawn, it is impossible for the reader to generalize accurately the findings even to the population from which the data originally came. Also, unless characteristics of the original population are given, others cannot judiciously apply the conclusions of the original study to any other population, even in part. One-fifth of the reports did not attempt to define the population universe for the reader. However, a large majority did a commendable job on this criterion.

Half of the twenty-six reports utilized original data involving sampling. In nine of these cases sampling procedure was reported, and in seven there was an effort to show the extent to which the data were representative of the larger universe. In only four of the thirteen reports, however, was the sample in any way checked against available population data. Just over half (7 out of 13) of the reports were judged adequate in the reporting of sampling procedure. Of the seven investigators who tried to evaluate the representativeness of their data, only two were judged to have done a complete job. Of the four who gave population data as a check on their sample data, only one was judged to have fully utilized the procedure. There is a

definite need for greater attention to these sampling criteria.

Another matter noted was the tendency for the authors to generalize far beyond the limits of their sample or universe, after having painstakingly defined them. For instance, findings specifically based on the relatively small population universe of the farmers in a given county were, without any recognition of probable uniqueness, generalized to farmers of the entire United States.

The next series of criteria concerning the characteristics of the data are those relating to meaningfulness. The question here was, "To what extent do the data symbolize reality within the phenomena under investigation?"

Since many of the data were obtained through the use of such instruments as scales, schedules, and structured interviews of various types, the adequacy of the instruments and their application becomes pertinent to any attempt to answer the above query. Often one of the most obvious ways for the researcher to meet this problem is to use *standardized* instruments. This not only relieves him—at least in part—of the responsibility for validation, but also permits the comparison of his data and findings with those of his colleagues who have used the same instruments on other occasions. The researcher who uses standardized instruments will also find that further research by others will more often be related to his findings, because of the greater ease of establishing comparability.

Of the eighteen reports which presented original data apparently obtained by using instruments, seven gave no indication as to the type of instrument used to obtain their data and four others used new, unstandardized instruments, making a total of eleven studies in which standardized instruments could have been used but

apparently were not (at least their use was not reported). Of the fourteen studies which used some new instruments, only four reported attempts at their standardization.

Another serious shortcoming was the lack of attention given to the validity and the reliability of the measures used. No attempt is made here to classify instruments used as either valid or reliable, but only to determine whether the report indicated concern for the validity and reliability of the measures. Approximately one-half of the reports in which the reliability and validity of instruments were pertinent considerations showed no concern for these important methodological requirements.

A second prerequisite for obtaining meaningful data is the competent application of the instruments. A first essential is the use of trained interviewers or observers. It was assumed that the authors or their graduate students met these specifications. Nevertheless, in only seven of the nineteen reports to which this criterion was judged to apply was such competency indicated by the reports. An even smaller proportion reassured the reader regarding the problem of researcher-subject rapport by indicating conditions under which interviewing or testing had been done. Apparently there is still a real need, if not for greater attention to these problems by the researcher in the field, then, at least, for greater attention to such matters in reporting. Without knowing how these problems were handled, the reader has no basis for evaluating the findings. If the original data themselves are not realistically meaningful, the application of sophisticated analytical and statistical techniques gives the research findings only a false meaningfulness. The meaningfulness of the basic data set an absolute limit on the potential meaningfulness of the conclusions of a study.

The final query in this area was whether secondary sources had been utilized judiciously and the reader directed to them. Only four reports deserve serious censure on this point—two because they did not consistently acknowledge and reference their secondary data, and the others because, although they did show and acknowledge their sources, they often left the readers somewhat at sea as to what data came from which source.

Too much emphasis cannot be laid on the importance of the *characteristics of the data* on which findings or conclusions of a study are based, since inadequacy at this point places an insurmountable limitation upon the validity of the results.

#### TREATMENT OF DATA

After the adequacy of the data had been considered, the next concern in appraisal was how adequately the data were treated. In order to evaluate the treatment of the data in any particular study, one must first of all be conversant not only with the nature of the data, their adequacy and limitations, but also with the specific objective to be achieved by the analysis. Although the writers are fully aware that they do not have any such acquaintance with the data or the studies themselves, an attempt to make some possibly useful observations in this area seems in order.

The need for accuracy of mathematical computations is basic and obvious. The importance of this in rural sociological research is reflected by the fact that all but two of the reports made extensive use of mathematics. In this critique it was assumed that computations were correct.

However, in the writers' judgment, at least four of the reports could legitimately be criticized for the malapplication of analytical techniques, particularly in the area of statistics. "Crimes" within this category could

be classified as either those of commission or those of omission. Among those of commission is the use of contingency techniques without regard for the facts that the number of cases in some of the cells fell below the generally accepted standard of five; that the Pearsonian correlation coefficient assumes both linearity of associated variation and homoscedasticity of the distribution; and that tests of statistical probability are designed to be restricted to sampling data and are not to be used with population universe data. Cases of each of these malapplications were represented in the reports reviewed.

Regarding the practice of applying tests of statistical probability to population universe data, it should probably be noted, in fairness to the researchers, that in some cases such tests of probability may have been applied to total universe data in order to determine to what extent these universe data might legitimately be generalized to an even larger hypothetical universe. For instance, if the researcher has complete data for farmers in a given county taken at different points in time, he may want to generalize from these population universe data to farmers within the same county at some other point in time, such as a given period in the future. The use of tests of statistical significance in such instances would be acceptable. In no case, however, was such justification indicated in the reports when probability tests were used in conjunction with population universe data or with non-random samples and non-normal distributions.

Another problem is the control of explanatory variables other than the one to which the dependent variable is being related. In any investigation that attempts to discover relationships between two or more phenomena, the control of other possibly significant influences on the dependent variable is

essential. Such control may be secured in a number of different ways. One can use (1) three-way tables (i.e., investigate the relationship between two factors, holding a third possibly explanatory factor constant), (2) partial correlation, (3) covariance techniques, and (4) experimental design. Only one of the studies extensively utilized any of the three latter techniques, although their application in a number of instances seemed appropriate for the control of variables that might explain away the apparent association between the factors studied. In only about half of the studies in which the simplest form of controlling other variables—the three-way table—appeared appropriate was it actually utilized.

The failure to use these techniques to control other possibly relevant variables may be attributed to at least two factors: (1) some of these techniques are relatively unfamiliar to sociologists and their utility and correct use is not generally known, and (2) the data are often thought not to warrant what sometimes is referred to as the application of "high-powered" analytical manipulations.

Although inadequate data cannot be improved by these statistical techniques, the researcher is nevertheless not warranted in concluding that he need be any less careful or complete in his analyses. Grossness of data, in other words, is no excuse for grossness of analysis. Inadequate and gross analysis merely further depreciates the value of the findings based on such data. This practice results in the addition of analytical error to data error.

#### CONCLUSIONS OF THE REPORTS

Concerning the conclusions of the reports, the following questions were asked: Has the author concisely and clearly stated his conclusions? Has he indicated the probable limits to which his data may be generalized? Has he

noted possible inadequacies of his study and made suggestions for improvement to guide in the planning of future studies in the area? Has he, out of his experience with the project and his increased knowledge of the problem area, made any statement as to suggested future studies? Was there any orientation of the findings to the general problem area? Did he make any effort to consider the theoretical implications of the findings?

A high proportion (22 out of 26) of the reports included a statement of the conclusions, while four reflected no attempt at such summarization. Only two-thirds of the reports indicated the probable limits beyond which the data might not be generalized safely, or the conditions under which relationships were verifiably true. Limitations of the research discovered during the process of the study, or suggestions for improvement were mentioned in just ten of the twenty-six reports. A similar number indicated possible future studies suggested by experience or findings.

Sixteen of the reports included a statement concerning the implications of the findings for the problem area, but in only eleven cases was there any consideration of the theoretical implications of the research. It should not be necessary to defend the importance of these criteria. Competent investigators have consistently concurred in their value. Furthermore, a simple consideration for efficiency within the profession demands that the investigator, who should be far more familiar than others with his data and their limitations and strong points, save the profession many man-hours by explicitly and conscientiously stating the pertinent information. Likewise, after having worked on the project for some period of time, the researcher with imagination should be able to offer suggestions not only for improving his

own study but also suggestions for other studies in the area.

Finally, it is extremely important to orient research findings to theory, if a body of empirically verified theory is to be developed in sociology. There is a tendency to leave this integration to textbook writers and teachers. At least some responsibility for this should be placed upon the investigator, because of his more intimate acquaintance with the data on which his findings are based—even though it may be well to leave the final evaluation of the importance and place of new findings to another who may be less susceptible to overevaluation. The original investigator should at least attempt to indicate the possible implications of his findings in relation to sociological theory.

#### SUMMARY OF CRITIQUE

This paper has examined critically research in rural sociology published in *Rural Sociology* and in the bulletins of the Agricultural Experiment Stations. Most prominent among the shortcomings of these research reports, as measured by the criteria utilized, were the following:

1. An apparent lack of theoretical orientation in the development of the research problem.
2. Lack of concern with the adequacy of sampling procedures.
3. Inadequacy of measurement instruments.
4. Inadequate concern for, or reporting of, field or testing conditions.
5. Lack of control of other possibly explanatory variables.
6. Lack of concern for orienting findings to a general theory.

Two positive suggestions emerge from this appraisal: (1) Higher research standards might be encouraged by the development of a list of criteria



essential to good research reporting. Such an outline could serve as a standard against which a writer could appraise his own report. (2) The feasibility of greater standardization in the composition of research reports might be investigated. The difficulties encountered in this attempt to appraise the researches suggest that less lit-

erary and more scientific reporting might be in order.

This appraisal has made the authors keenly aware of limitations in their own research efforts, and of the need for continual review of research activities. It is their hope that this critique will serve the same positive function for other sociologists.

### CHANGES IN THE RURAL POPULATION, 1940 TO 1950

*by Henry D. Sheldon†*

#### ABSTRACT

Most of the statistics on the rural population from the 1950 census are based on a new definition of urban-rural residence which differs in several respects from the old definition used in previous censuses. This paper indicates the nature of these changes in definition and their effects on the size of the rural population in the United States as a whole and in the individual states. It also examines the characteristic pattern of urban-rural growth in metropolitan areas as an explanation of urban-rural differences (in terms of the old definition) among the states in the rate of growth in the decade 1940-1950. This examination suggests that, for states, rural rates of increase which exceed the corresponding urban rates reflect the rapid growth of population in suburban areas rather than an increase in the open-country or rural-farm population. Finally, it indicates that the new urban definition represents a step in the direction of a more realistic classification of the population into its urban and rural parts.

In any examination of changes in the rural population, the new definition of urban population which is being used in the 1950 Census of Population and Housing must be taken into account. This change in definition represents a serious effort on the part of the Bureau of the Census to obtain greater precision in the distinction between urban and rural population.

In the abstract, the conception of urban territory which lies behind the census definitions is reasonably simple and straightforward; that is, urban territory has been regarded as territory which is thickly settled. The application of this definition creates a number of problems, since, in order to

count the population of such territory, boundaries must be assigned to it. In theory, of course, it would be possible to make a field examination of the entire country and set up boundaries for territory of this description, and this procedure was followed to a limited degree in 1950. However, in terms of the available resources, such a procedure on a complete basis is, and probably always will be, impractical. Consequently, in defining urban territory, the Bureau of the Census has used mainly the political boundaries which are an integral part of the whole census operation. In these terms, the obvious components of urban territory are incorporated places. Since the size of such places ranges from zero to nearly eight million, it is

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necessary to specify some minimum below which an incorporated place is no longer an urban place. Although various cut-off points have been used in previous censuses, the conventional lower limit in recent censuses has been 2,500, and the aggregate population of incorporated places of 2,500 or more has given a reasonable approximation of the population of thickly settled areas.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear, however, that the definition of the urban population in terms of such incorporated places does not cover all of the thickly settled area of the country. Areas of this description occur with considerable frequency in some of the New England States where it is not the practice to incorporate as cities places of less than 10,000. They are also to be found in suburban developments surrounding large cities, as well as in unincorporated settlements in the open country.

#### CHANGE IN URBAN DEFINITION

Operationally then, the urban population falls into two major categories: (1) that lying within the boundaries of incorporated places of 2,500 or more, which can be readily defined, and (2) outside of such places, thickly settled territory which can be defined only with some difficulty. The difference between the "old" definition of urban territory, which was established for the census of 1930 and used in 1940, and the "new" definition set up for purposes of the 1950 census lies in the delineation of urban territory outside of incorporated urban places.

The old definition specified as urban territory incorporated places of 2,500 or more and territory outside of such

places (defined in terms of political areas, usually minor civil divisions) which met certain criteria with respect to settlement or population density; this latter territory was designated as urban under special rules.

The new definition is identical with the old in recognizing incorporated places of 2,500 or more as urban, but differs from the old in substituting, for places classed as urban under "special rule," especially delineated suburban areas called "urban-fringe areas," and unincorporated places of 2,500 or more outside of such areas. It is obvious, of course, that this substitution involves a great deal of overlap. That is, a large part of the population of "special-rule" areas which would be urban under the old definition is to be found in the urbanized areas and unincorporated places of the new definition; but of course the correspondence is not exact—an appreciable proportion of the population in urbanized areas and unincorporated places of 2,500 or more has been carved out of territory which would be rural according to the old definition, and conversely, a small proportion of the territory which would be urban under the old special rules becomes rural under the new definition. This latter territory represents, in general, sparsely settled portions of those minor civil divisions which would be urban under the special rules of the old definition.

The 1950 census classified 64.0 per cent of the population as urban and 36.0 per cent as rural. Under the old definition, 59.0 per cent would have been urban and 41.0 per cent, rural. In terms of numbers, the comparison is as follows:

	<i>New Definition</i>	<i>Old Definition</i>
Urban .....	96,467,686	88,927,464
Rural .....	54,229,675	61,769,897
Total.....	150,697,361	150,697,361

Table 1 indicates, in more detail, the effects of the change in urban defini-

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the history of census practice with respect to urban-rural classification, see: U. S. Bureau of the Census, No. 1, "The Development of the Urban-Current Population Reports; Series P-23, Rural Classification in the United States: 1874 to 1949," by Leon E. Truesdell.

TABLE 1. URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER OLD AND NEW URBAN DEFINITIONS: 1950

New definition	Total population	Old definition			
		Urban			Rural
		Total	Incorporated places of 2,500 or more	Places urban under special rule	
Total population .....	150,697,361	88,927,464	86,550,941	2,376,523	61,769,897
Urban .....	96,467,686	88,589,867	86,550,941	2,038,926	7,877,819
Incorporated places of 2,500 or more .....	86,550,941	86,550,941	86,550,941	.....	.....
Unincorporated places of 2,500 or more .....	1,994,727	320,504	.....	320,504	1,674,223
Urban fringe <sup>1</sup> .....	7,922,018	1,718,422	.....	1,718,422	6,203,596
Rural .....	54,229,675	337,597	.....	337,597	53,892,078
<i>Per cent distribution by old classification:</i>					
Total population .....	100.0	59.0	(57.4)	(1.6)	41.0
Urban .....	100.0	91.8	(89.7)	(2.1)	8.2
Incorporated places of 2,500 or more .....	100.0	100.0	(100.0)	.....	.....
Unincorporated places of 2,500 or more .....	100.0	16.1	.....	(16.1)	83.9
Urban fringe <sup>1</sup> .....	100.0	21.7	.....	(21.7)	78.3
Rural .....	100.0	0.6	.....	(0.6)	99.4
<i>Per cent distribution by new classification:</i>					
Total population .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban .....	64.0	99.6	100.0	85.8	12.8
Incorporated places of 2,500 or more .....	(57.4)	(97.3)	(100.0)	.....	.....
Unincorporated places of 2,500 or more .....	(1.3)	(0.4)	.....	(13.5)	(2.7)
Urban fringe <sup>1</sup> .....	(5.3)	(1.9)	.....	(72.3)	(10.0)
Rural .....	36.0	0.4	.....	14.2	87.2

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of incorporated places of 2,500 or more.

tion on the urban-rural distribution of population of 1950. Of the urban population under the new definition, 89.7 per cent was in incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more; 2.1 per cent in territory which would be urban under the old special rules; and 8.2 per cent in territory which would be rural under the old definition.

In its coverage of incorporated places of 2,500 or more, the newly defined urban population is identical with that of the old definition, and it in-

cludes 85.8 per cent of the population of the places urban under the old special rules and 12.8 per cent of the rural population under the old definition. On the other hand, the new definition effects the shift of about 338,000 persons, residing in places which would be urban under special rule, from the urban to the rural population. The net effect of the change in definition is to shift 7,540,222 persons, or 5 per cent of the total population, from the rural to the urban category (Table 2).

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Table 2 presents, for each state, figures on the rural population under the old and new definitions. The net dif-

ference is expressed as a percentage of the total population, and the states are ranked in accordance with the magni-

TABLE 2. RURAL POPULATION UNDER OLD AND NEW URBAN DEFINITIONS, BY STATES, 1950

(The states are arranged in descending order of the proportion of their population affected by the change, except for the two states where the change resulted in a gain in rural population. These are at the end of the list. A minus sign [-] indicates loss in rural population resulting from change in urban definition.)

State	Total population	Rural population				
		Under new definition	Under old definition	Net difference		
				Number	Per cent of "old" rural population	Per cent of total population
United States.....	150,697,361	54,229,675	61,769,897	7,540,222	-12.2	5.0
Arizona.....	749,587	333,587	475,793	-142,206	-29.9	19.0
Delaware.....	318,085	118,963	170,195	-51,232	-30.1	16.1
Maryland.....	2,343,001	727,009	1,068,383	-341,284	-31.9	14.6
California.....	10,586,223	2,046,803	3,487,057	-1,440,254	-41.3	13.6
Connecticut.....	2,007,280	448,638	720,463	-271,825	-37.7	13.5
Maine.....	913,774	441,774	539,267	-97,493	-18.1	10.7
Washington.....	2,378,963	875,797	1,104,811	-229,014	-20.7	9.6
Florida.....	2,771,305	957,415	1,204,517	-247,102	-20.5	8.9
South Carolina.....	2,117,027	1,339,106	1,507,802	-168,696	-11.2	8.0
New Jersey.....	4,835,329	649,122	987,558	-338,436	-34.3	7.0
Virginia.....	3,318,680	1,758,565	1,982,736	-224,171	-11.3	6.8
Michigan.....	6,371,766	1,868,682	2,272,759	-404,077	-17.8	6.3
Tennessee.....	3,291,718	1,839,116	2,027,559	-188,443	-9.3	5.7
Oregon.....	1,521,341	702,023	789,004	-87,071	-11.0	5.7
Utah.....	688,862	239,007	276,344	-37,337	-13.5	5.4
Colorado.....	1,325,089	493,771	565,150	-71,379	-12.6	5.4
New York.....	14,830,192	2,147,746	2,941,184	-793,438	-27.0	5.4
Georgia.....	3,444,578	1,885,131	2,062,710	-177,579	-8.6	5.2
Pennsylvania.....	10,498,012	3,094,976	3,591,019	-496,043	-13.8	4.7
Nevada.....	180,083	68,458	76,004	-7,546	-9.9	4.7
Kansas.....	1,905,299	912,079	1,001,831	-89,752	-9.0	4.7
Louisiana.....	2,683,516	1,211,820	1,319,727	-107,907	-8.2	4.0
New Mexico.....	681,187	339,298	366,551	-27,253	-7.4	4.0
Ohio.....	7,946,627	2,368,353	2,673,421	-305,068	-11.4	3.8
Alabama.....	3,061,743	1,720,806	1,833,534	-112,728	-6.1	3.7
Missouri.....	3,954,653	1,521,938	1,694,504	-142,566	-8.6	3.6
Indiana.....	3,934,224	1,577,028	1,716,756	-139,728	-8.1	3.6
Kentucky.....	2,944,806	1,890,736	1,959,007	-68,331	-5.0	3.3
North Carolina.....	4,061,929	2,693,828	2,823,736	-129,908	-4.6	3.2
Illinois.....	8,712,176	1,952,905	2,225,593	-272,598	-12.2	3.1
Idaho.....	588,637	330,088	354,490	-18,411	-5.2	3.1
Texas.....	7,711,194	2,873,134	3,098,528	-225,394	-7.3	2.9
West Virginia.....	2,005,552	1,311,065	1,364,946	-53,881	-3.9	2.7
Wisconsin.....	3,434,575	1,446,687	1,528,212	-81,525	-5.3	2.4
Oklahoma.....	2,233,351	1,093,870	1,126,099	-32,229	-2.9	1.4
Nebraska.....	1,325,510	703,605	718,980	-15,375	-2.1	1.2
New Hampshire.....	533,242	226,436	231,993	-5,557	-2.4	1.0
Montana.....	591,024	332,990	338,118	-5,128	-1.5	0.9
Iowa.....	2,621,073	1,370,135	1,391,640	-21,505	-1.5	0.8
Arkansas.....	1,909,511	1,278,920	1,292,358	-13,438	-1.0	0.7
Minnesota.....	2,982,483	1,357,509	1,375,037	-17,468	-1.3	0.6
Mississippi.....	2,178,914	1,571,752	1,577,142	-5,390	-0.3	0.2
South Dakota.....	652,740	436,030	436,583	-553	-0.1	0.1
North Dakota.....	619,636	454,819	454,819	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	377,747	240,135	240,135	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	290,529	145,911	145,911	.....	.....	.....
Dist. of Columbia.....	802,178	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	4,690,514	731,275	568,376	162,899	28.7	3.5
Rhode Island.....	791,896	124,684	91,486	33,198	36.3	4.2

tude of this percentage. This percentage gives some indication as to the total impact of the change, and the net difference expressed as a percentage of the rural population under the old definition indicates the effects on the rural population as such. The net effect of the change was to reduce the rural population in every state except North Dakota, Wyoming, and Vermont—in these and the District of Columbia no changes resulted from the new definition—and Massachusetts and Rhode Island, in which the change produced an increase in rural population.

It is in these two latter states that the effects of applying the new definition to minor civil divisions which would be urban under the old definition are apparent. In these states there are a large number of towns (which correspond to townships in most states) that would be urban under special rules and thus classified as entirely urban. Actually, however, a great many of these towns contain thickly settled centers, or "towns" or villages in the usual sense of these terms, and sparsely settled outlying territory. The new definition, while retaining the thickly settled areas as urban (either as urban fringe or unincorporated places), converts the sparsely settled area to rural, and thus produces a larger rural population.

#### TRENDS IN URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION, 1940 TO 1950

Historically, for the United States as a whole, the decennial rates of increase for the urban population have exceeded those of the rural population. With a few minor exceptions, the same can be said of the urban and rural rates of increase for states, up to the decade 1930-1940. In that period there were seventeen states for which the rate of increase in rural population exceeded that of the urban population. This shift in the general pattern of urban and rural increase in the 30's was, in

part, a function of the Depression, which curtailed the normal net immigration into urban areas; but it was also, in part, a function of a counter-trend which had been in operation at least since the decade 1900-1910, as indicated by Thompson's study of the growth of metropolitan districts.<sup>2</sup> Thompson shows that in the metropolitan districts of the country the rate of increase in rural (old definition) suburban territory has exceeded, decade by decade, the rate of growth of central and satellite cities. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that, as the proportion of the population of a given state to be found in metropolitan areas increases, the excess of rural increase will become apparent in the over-all urban and rural rates of increase for that state. It seems probable that this process accounts in part for the appearance, in the decade 1930-1940, of an appreciable number of states in which the rate of growth in the rural population exceeded that for the urban population.

For the decade 1940-1950 there were thirteen states in which, under the old urban definition, the rural rate of increase exceeded the urban rate (Table 3). These states fall geographically into two groups: California and Oregon on the West Coast, and a group of contiguous states extending from the Atlantic Seaboard west to Michigan, and from Maryland on the south to New Hampshire on the north. In each of these states the rural rate of increase was greater than the urban rate and, with the exception of Oregon and New Hampshire, the proportion of the total state population in metropolitan counties was higher than in most of the remaining states with metropolitan counties. It does not appear un-

<sup>2</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The Growth and Distribution of Metropolitan Districts in the United States: 1900-1940*, by Warren S. Thompson (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948).



reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the growth of population in rural-suburban areas of metropolitan counties is an important component of the high rates of rural increase in the states under consideration.

If the growth and development of metropolitan areas is taken to be the major factor in explaining the patterns of urban and rural growth, then the groups of states for which figures are presented in Table 3 may be regarded as reflecting stages in this development.

Thus, the states in Group I, with greater rural rates in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties, might be said to represent a final stage in urban development in which, in effect, entire states become metropolitan areas. This case might be argued with some semblance of validity for Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, in which the percentage of the population classified as urban is high, and in which the distribution of metropolitan counties is such that most of the nonmetropolitan counties are adjacent to metropolitan counties. It requires some stretch of the imagination, however, to conceive of New Hampshire as a state of this character, and New York and Maryland are hardly states in which all territory is either urban or suburban.

The states in Groups II and III are those in which the rate of increase for rural areas exceeds the urban rate in metropolitan counties, but in which the historical pattern of more rapid urban growth persists in nonmetropolitan counties. The essential difference between Group II and Group III lies in the proportion of the total population of the component states to be found in metropolitan counties. Generally speaking, the state rates in Group II are more heavily weighted with the characteristic "metropolitan" pattern of urban and rural growth than are the states in Group III, and thus rural

rates of growth exceed the urban rates for the states in Group II. For the states of Group III, however, the characteristic "nonmetropolitan" pattern predominates. There are two exceptions to this generalization: Oregon, with less than one-half of its population in metropolitan counties, falls in Group II with a rural rate of increase in excess of the corresponding urban rate for the state; and Illinois, with more than 70 per cent of its population in metropolitan counties, falls in Group III.

The states in Group IV—Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama, West Virginia, Missouri, Iowa, South Dakota, Mississippi, and Arkansas—are those in which the urban rate of growth is more rapid than the rural rate in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties. The character and location of these states suggest that here we have a group of states in an early stage of metropolitan development in which there is plenty of room within corporate limits for population growth and, consequently, little "spill over" into surrounding rural-suburban territory. The states in Group V, those with no metropolitan counties, suggest a still earlier stage of development.

Although the hypothesis that the pattern of urban and rural growth among the states is primarily a function of the growth and development of metropolitan areas has some relevance as an explanation of the trends observed in the decade 1940-1950, it also has certain limitations. As noted in the preceding discussion, not all states fall neatly into the categories specified by the hypothesis. In addition, the definitions under which the data were collected leave them open to other types of interpretation.

An examination of the situation in some of the states which fail to conform to expectation indicates that one limitation of working with states as



TABLE 3. RATES OF INCREASE IN URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION, UNDER OLD URBAN DEFINITION, BY TYPE OF COUNTY, BY STATES, 1940 TO 1950

(Metropolitan counties are defined as the component counties of standard metropolitan areas, except in New England where they are defined as counties with 50 per cent or more of their population in standard metropolitan areas. A minus sign [-] denotes decrease.)

State	Per cent increase, 1940 to 1950						Per cent of 1950 population in metropolitan counties
	The state		Metropolitan counties		Nonmetropolitan counties		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
United States <sup>1</sup> .....	14.5	7.9	17.6	40.8	25.8	-1.6	56.8
Groups I and II: States in which the Rural Rate of Increase Exceeded the Ur- ban Rate:							
Group I <sup>2</sup>							
Maryland.....	28.6	44.2	19.0	79.7	11.6	15.7	72.4
Connecticut.....	17.4	30.7	11.9	33.4	6.1	26.0	79.2
Rhode Island.....	11.0	52.6	6.3	39.3	19.7	60.5	86.1
New York.....	10.0	27.1	6.4	47.5	7.4	9.4	84.0
Massachusetts.....	8.7	24.3	6.8	25.3	10.3	16.1	97.7
New Hampshire.....	8.5	11.4	6.1	16.7	6.5	10.5	29.4
Group II <sup>3</sup>							
California.....	53.3	73.9	44.0	100.0	52.6	44.8	80.2
Oregon.....	39.6	41.4	29.4	55.4	49.9	36.9	40.7
Michigan.....	21.2	26.2	19.5	49.5	15.1	14.1	66.3
Delaware.....	19.4	33.9	3.1	64.0	30.3	10.6	68.8
New Jersey.....	16.2	29.0	11.8	31.9	46.5	21.7	90.0
Ohio.....	15.0	16.5	14.6	37.1	13.5	5.3	67.8
Pennsylvania.....	6.0	8.4	5.3	15.3	1.7	-0.1	77.5
Groups III, IV, and V: States in which the Urban Rate of Increase Exceeded the Rural Rate:							
Group III <sup>4</sup>							
Florida.....	46.1	41.1	45.6	112.5	56.1	20.6	47.7
Washington.....	37.0	35.7	35.8	71.4	43.8	19.2	55.3
Utah.....	25.2	12.9	28.1	53.3	50.5	0.5	52.0
Virginia.....	23.9	14.4	49.1	84.6	29.7	5.5	36.5
Colorado.....	18.0	6.1	32.5	59.9	20.8	-3.6	49.9
Indiana.....	14.8	11.5	17.2	40.0	17.9	4.9	44.7
North Carolina.....	13.7	8.7	21.3	24.8	31.8	6.7	22.1
Tennessee.....	12.9	7.4	20.2	50.0	29.7	-1.5	41.0
Illinois.....	10.3	6.6	11.6	37.1	11.9	-4.9	72.1
Georgia.....	10.3	0.6	25.2	47.8	34.0	-7.1	35.9
Wisconsin.....	9.5	4.8	12.6	30.4	14.8	0.7	39.9
Maine.....	7.9	7.0	10.8	30.1	8.4	5.0	18.5
Minnesota.....	6.8	-1.9	13.4	28.0	21.4	-5.3	44.3
Kansas.....	5.8	-4.3	24.0	65.8	17.0	-12.1	29.2
Kentucky.....	3.5	-1.9	13.5	48.0	20.4	-5.7	27.7
Nebraska.....	0.7	-10.3	15.7	17.8	21.3	-12.3	31.4
Oklahoma.....	-4.4	-22.7	29.0	45.1	23.7	-26.5	25.8
Group IV <sup>5</sup>							
Arizona.....	50.1	46.3	85.1	72.9	33.5	33.4	44.3
New Mexico.....	28.1	3.1	173.1	43.9	54.5	-1.2	21.4
Texas.....	20.2	-11.6	60.3	17.1	55.2	-17.1	47.3
Louisiana.....	13.5	-4.6	32.8	12.4	51.1	-6.6	38.0
South Carolina.....	11.4	5.2	32.7	24.6	29.4	1.5	25.0
Alabama.....	8.1	-7.3	38.7	10.4	51.6	-10.2	34.7
West Virginia.....	5.4	-0.2	18.9	1.9	21.0	-0.8	31.8
Missouri.....	4.5	-8.7	16.6	7.1	17.5	-11.8	52.6
Iowa.....	3.3	-4.3	14.2	11.8	12.7	-5.9	26.9
South Dakota.....	1.5	-10.0	29.1	8.0	39.4	-10.6	10.9
Mississippi.....	-0.2	-9.9	58.2	-2.8	35.8	-10.1	6.5
Arkansas.....	-2.0	-14.8	31.0	7.4	45.9	-15.5	10.3

<sup>1</sup> Includes figures for the District of Columbia not shown separately.

<sup>2</sup> Rural rate exceeded urban rate for nonmetropolitan counties.

<sup>3</sup> Urban rate exceeded rural rate for nonmetropolitan counties.

<sup>4</sup> Rural rate exceeded urban rate for metropolitan counties.

<sup>5</sup> Urban rate exceeded rural rate for metropolitan counties.

TABLE 3. RATES OF INCREASE IN URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION, UNDER OLD URBAN DEFINITION, BY TYPE OF COUNTY, BY STATES, 1940 to 1950—Continued

State	Per cent increase, 1940 to 1950						Per cent of 1950 population in metropolitan counties
	The state		Metropolitan counties		Nonmetropolitan counties		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
Group V*							
Nevada.....	45.2	13.5	....	....	94.2	13.5	....
Wyoming.....	15.9	-7.2	....	....	54.5	-7.2	....
Idaho.....	12.1	1.8	....	....	32.5	1.8	....
Montana.....	5.6	-2.8	....	....	19.6	-2.8	....
Vermont.....	5.2	1.8	....	....	11.7	1.8	....
North Dakota.....	-3.5	-10.8	....	....	24.9	-10.8	....

\* No metropolitan counties.

units of analysis and making comparisons in terms of simple differences between percentage increases or decreases is the lack of homogeneity within states and the instability of the percentages. For example, New Hampshire is a relatively small state in which, contrary to expectation, the rural rate of growth exceeded the urban rate in nonmetropolitan counties. In determining the 1950 urban and rural population under the old definition, only those New England towns which had been urban under special rule in 1940 were classified as urban; that is, no new urban towns were created even though they might have qualified for the first time in 1950. There were in New Hampshire two such towns—Hanover town in Grafton County and Durham town in Strafford County. If these towns are shifted from the rural to the urban side of the ledger, then both the state and the nonmetropolitan counties fall into line, with an urban rate of increase in excess of the rural rate.

A somewhat different type of situation occurs in Maryland, another state in which the rural rate of increase unexpectedly exceeded the urban rate in nonmetropolitan counties. By the time the metropolitan counties have been removed from the state totals, the residual urban population in nonmetropolitan counties is relatively small. The largest component of this residual urban population is to be found in the city of Cumberland, in Allegany Coun-

ty. During the decade, Cumberland actually lost population, although there was an appreciable gain in the rural population of Allegany County. If Allegany County is removed from the nonmetropolitan counties, the aggregate figures for the remaining counties show an urban rate of growth in excess of the rural rate, as might be expected. Here is a case in which the trend in one county, which runs counter to the trend in other counties, sets the overall state pattern.

In short, unique local situations which have little relationship to the general process of metropolitan growth may, in certain instances, determine the observed pattern of urban and rural growth. The examples cited are all in support of the general hypothesis stated. It would not be difficult, however, to find other examples of unique local situations which produce results not in conformity with the general hypothesis.

Another limitation of the data in relation to the hypothesis under consideration is a definition of metropolitan counties which has as its starting point a city of 50,000 or more, either in a given county or in an adjacent county. In New York, for example, the rural rate of increase exceeded the urban rate for the group of nonmetropolitan counties with cities of 25,000 to 50,000, but below this level the urban rate of growth was the larger. Likewise, among the states in Group V in which there were no metropolitan counties,

there was evidence of the "metropolitan" pattern of urban and rural increase in counties containing the larger cities. Thus, in Nevada, the urban and rural rates of increase for Washoe County—the county in which Reno is located—were 52.8 and 62.7, respectively; and in Idaho, the corresponding figures for Ada County, in which Boise City is located, were 31.6 and 49.4, respectively.

Another problem in the interpretation of the data at hand lies in the assumption under the old definition that all thickly settled areas sooner or later become a part of an incorporated place, either by outright incorporation or by annexation. Although this is true in a general way, the process frequently occurs later rather than sooner. In fact it might be argued that if the processes of annexation and incorporation kept pace with suburban settlement, the "metropolitan" pattern of urban and rural increase would not exist.

It could also be argued that, for the states in Group IV, the greater rate of urban increase in metropolitan counties represents a more active policy of incorporation and annexation than in other states, rather than the presence of adequate room for expansion within corporate limits. One of the most outstanding examples of growth by annexation, during the decade 1940-1950, is Baton Rouge, Louisiana. By annexing a considerable block of adjacent territory, Baton Rouge achieved a rate of growth of 261.8 per cent, while in the balance of East Baton Rouge Parish the population declined by 39.3 per cent. A similar but less extreme pattern of change also occurred in Caddo Parish. The metropolitan counties of Louisiana comprise East Baton Rouge Parish, Caddo Parish, and the three parishes making up the New Orleans Standard Metropolitan Area. In this latter area the conventional pattern of metropolitan increase obtained, but the countershifts in the East Baton Rouge

and Caddo Parishes were enough to obscure the New Orleans pattern. Although there are no other cases in the states under consideration as clear-cut as that of Louisiana, annexation and incorporation of territory which was rural in 1940 have played a part in a number of areas in shifting the increase from rural to urban.

This issue of annexation has implications for the urban definition. The definition of urban territory in terms of incorporated places depends in part for its adequacy on the assumption that population concentrations in rural areas adjacent to cities will find their way into the urban population by a process of annexation. The materials presented here indicate that this is a small, slow, and erratic process. For this reason the new urban definition meets a very real need.

This rather cursory summary of trends in urban and rural growth in the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties of several states certainly suggests that the characteristic pattern of metropolitan growth serves as a general theoretical frame of reference within which to interpret these trends. It indicates, however, that a definitive analysis can be made only after taking into consideration the vagaries in incorporation and annexation practices among the states, as well as the relation of urban and rural growth to the size of the principal urban place of counties. It further suggests that, in the case of states in which the rural rate of growth exceeds the corresponding urban rate, an increase in the open-country or in the rural-farm population is extremely unlikely. Finally, it indicates that, from a theoretical point of view, the new urban definition is clearly a step in the direction of greater uniformity in the definition of urban and rural population from state to state, and in the direction of a greater homogeneity within each of these categories.

## THE SMALL VILLAGE:

1940-1950

by Edmund deS. Brunner†

### ABSTRACT

This article presents the population trends of villages of less than 1000 population, 1940-50. To a greater degree than in the previous decade this group showed divergence from the growth and decline trend of larger centers. Their growth was slowed. Incorporated hamlets of less than 250 population are also reported on. They continued to decline.

In *Rural Sociology* for June, 1951, the writer presented an analysis of population growth and decline, 1940-1950, based on preliminary census reports for villages of from 1000 to 2500 population. An attempt was made to exclude the effect of suburbanization by eliminating from the count all communities in this size bracket located in the same counties with cities of 100,000 or over, or, in the case of larger centers, contiguous counties as well. Thus, the Bay counties of the San Francisco area and the Virginia and Maryland counties contiguous to Washington, D. C. were not included, nor were the two counties lying north and east of New York City—Westchester, New York and Fairfield, Connecticut.<sup>1</sup> This introduced an element of judgment but was necessary because few of the census reports on standard metropolitan areas were then available. The study showed that places of 1000 to 2500 population increased in population, beyond expectations, during the last intercensal period.

The present article examines the growth and decline of villages of less than 1000 population, again excluding suburban counties determined as above. Final tabulations were available for most, but not all, of the states. It presents trends with respect to the population behavior of small villages

and incorporated hamlets of less than 250 population. The slightly higher degree of accuracy which might have been obtained by using the standard metropolitan areas as the definition of suburban territory did not seem to warrant the additional effort involved. The procedure used probably eliminated a few more communities than would otherwise have been the case. It is not claimed, however, that no influence of suburbanization appears in the data. Golf Manor, for instance, located close to ten miles from the boundary of a county containing a city of some 200,000 population, is obviously not a farmers' service-station center.

The study shows wider divergences in the behavior of centers in this size group as compared with villages of 1000 to 2500 population than occurred within any previous census period in this century. Moreover, regional differences were accentuated.

Table 1 presents these data, distributing the villages according to those gaining 10 per cent or more and less than 10 per cent, and those declining in the same proportions. An additional category of "unchanged" is used, defined as places where the decade's change was no more than one-half of one per cent.

It will be observed that nationally, and for all census divisions, more of these villages grew than declined between 1940 and 1950. If to the record as given in Table 1 is added that of the 554 small villages which grew above

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<sup>1</sup> The writer applied, in part, criteria for suburbs suggested by Wilbur C. Hallenbeck in his *American Urban Communities* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Nov., 1951).

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF NON-SUBURBAN VILLAGES OF 250 TO 999  
POPULATION BY RATES OF POPULATION GAIN OR LOSS, 1940-1950

Census division	Number of villages	Gained		Declined		Unchanged No more than 0.5 per cent change
		10.0 per cent or more	0.6-9.9 per cent	10.0 per cent or more	0.6-9.9 per cent	
	Number	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
United States .....	5883	34.8	23.1	20.1	18.9	3.1
Middle Atlantic .....	488	39.1	29.7	7.4	20.5	3.3
East North Central .....	1500	43.8	25.7	9.6	16.5	4.4
West North Central .....	1727	22.3	22.7	23.4	28.8	2.8
South Atlantic .....	735	42.0	23.4	14.3	17.8	2.5
East South Central .....	382	31.2	19.9	19.9	25.6	3.4
West South Central .....	566	30.4	18.4	33.2	16.8	1.2
Mountain .....	333	34.5	19.2	26.1	19.2	1.0
Pacific .....	152	64.5	13.8	9.8	9.2	2.7

the 1000 mark and the 366 which dropped into the hamlet class with less than 250 persons, then, of the 6803 non-suburban villages having between 250 and 999 population in 1940, 30.1 per cent grew 10 per cent or more during the decade and 20.0 per cent at less than this rate; thus, one-half showed some gain.

No completely accurate comparison can be made with previous decades because in the previous tabulations suburban villages were included. Even so, the record of the small village in the intercensal period just closed compares not too unfavorably with that of 1930-40, as is indicated below.

	1940-50	1930-40
Gained 10 per cent or more	30.1	36.9
Lost 10 per cent or more	21.3	16.1
Neither gained nor lost 10 per cent	48.6	47.0

The behavior of states showed wide differences. Thus, in Oklahoma, of the 192 centers which had between 250 and 999 population in both 1940 and 1950, 84 lost more than 10 per cent in the decade and 42 more declined less than 10 per cent. Twenty-three other centers dropped below 250 inhabitants, but only three hamlets grew past 250. In the neighboring state of Louisiana, on the other hand, half of the 66 cen-

ters gained more than 10 per cent and nearly one-fifth less than 10 per cent. Less than one-eighth lost 10 per cent or more. Only three villages dropped to the hamlet group. In the West North Central census division, more than twice as many of Nebraska's small villages lost as gained, and nine times as many became hamlets as hamlets became villages; but in Minnesota gains outnumbered losses better than two to one, and four hamlets became villages for every three villages declining to the hamlet category.

In previous analyses of data from prior censuses a basis of comparison other than percentage change has been used, namely, units of 100 persons. Thus, if a village of between 700 and 800 persons in one decade remained in that same range in the next census, it was placed in the zero category. If it had advanced to 850 persons, it was placed in the +1 group, and so on, minus signs being used if a place lost population and fell into a lower category. This is a complicated and expensive analysis to present, and, since the results only confirm those already given, they are merely summarized in Table 2.

It must again be borne in mind that the 1940-50 data, in conformity to new census definitions, excluded—whereas



TABLE 2. CHANGES IN POPULATION OF INCORPORATED VILLAGES UNDER 1000 POPULATION, BY INTERVALS OF ONE HUNDRED, BY DECADES

Decade	Gained one or more hundreds	Remained in same hundred	Lost one or more hundreds
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
1940-50.....	33.6	45.8	21.6
1930-40.....	35.0	51.4	13.6
1920-30.....	31.6	41.8	26.6

those for previous decades included—suburban villages as defined earlier in this article. Their inclusion would have resulted in increasing the 1940-50 proportion of gaining villages to about that of 1930-40 and in decreasing slightly the proportions in the other two columns.

Roughly, about three villages gained one or more hundreds for every two that lost during the 1940-50 decade. Only in the West North Central and West South Central census divisions did more villages lose than gain. The tendency toward stability is shown by the fact that, in the nation as a whole, only nine per cent of these centers changed by more than a single hundred. Among these, gains were almost three times as numerous as losses.

#### FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH CHANGES

These changes in population are the result of many contradictory forces. Considerable increases in the size of farms in some states have reduced the number of farm homes tributary to a given center and, hence, volume of demand for goods and services supplied by the small village. This in turn reduced employment opportunities. In the more densely settled parts of the nation, the competition from the larger villages—especially county-seat towns—works in the same direction. The average farmer must visit the county seat more often than formerly because of the increased number of field offices of agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture. Therefore, for convenience, he procures more of the other needed services there.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that about half the villages under 1000 population in both 1940 and 1950 showed increases—three out of five, by 10 per cent or more. Moreover, 554 non-suburban small villages grew into the medium or large category during the decade, against only 131 that declined to below the 1000 mark. The places which grew were probably influenced by a number of the factors previously discussed in relation to larger villages.<sup>2</sup> It was also noticeable that centers on major transportation routes were more likely to show growth than not.

Despite the slackened rate of growth of these places of less than 1000 population, it seems quite clear from an inspection of the data for a considerable number of counties that, in two-thirds of the census divisions, the widest fluctuations have occurred in places that are not the centers of agricultural areas. Thus, in Pennsylvania, most of the eleven places which dropped under 1000 population and most of the 29 which declined 10 per cent or more in population from 1940 to 1950 were coal-mining or other one-industry towns. Comparable results were secured in several other states where the economic background of the county was examined with care.

Comparably, expansion of some small industries accounted for some of the sharpest gains registered by these small villages. Resort villages also contributed to the growth figures to some degree, an evidence of the in-

<sup>2</sup> E. deS. Brunner, "Village Growth, 1940-50," *Rural Sociology*, June, 1951.

creasing trend toward vacations in the United States.

In the main, so far as could be judged from a more detailed examination of the data for one state in each census division, the purely agricultural villages tended to conform to the pattern of stability or slow growth evident from previous studies, and to a much greater degree than either the industrial or resort villages. The study of population growth and decline, 1930-40,<sup>3</sup> showed that when villages of less than 1000 population are divided into three groups—250-499, 500-749, 750-999—the smaller the population, the higher the proportion losing 10 per cent or more in a decade. Thus, in the smallest group, 19.0 per cent lost in the 1930-40 decade, against only 10.8 per cent of the group from 750 to 999 population. With respect to those gaining 10 per cent or more in the decade the tendency was reversed, but by far smaller margins. In 1940-50, judging from a sample of one state for each census division and from observation, this trend appeared more pronounced. The incorporated center of less than 500 population, outside suburban areas, has increasing difficulty in forging ahead or even in retaining its previous population. The 366 small villages

which dropped into the hamlet class (less than 250 persons) between 1940 and 1950 were almost exclusively places which had less than 350 inhabitants in 1940 and made up more than one-tenth of the places which, in that year, had less than 500 population.

#### HAMLETS

Hamlets continued to decline. Sixty-four per cent lost in the decade under review, a proportion almost identical with that of 1930-40. This fact raises serious questions with respect to the habit of some state legislatures in permitting places in this category to incorporate as separate municipalities. In the main, the higher the proportion of incorporated hamlets losing population, the higher the proportion of newly incorporated centers which were hamlets. Thus, in the West North Central States almost three-quarters of the municipalities of hamlet class lost population, but an equal proportion of the communities incorporated during the decade had less than 250 population; a number had less than 100. There can be no adequate governmental service under such conditions and for some disincorporation is inevitable. The number of places with less than 50 inhabitants is rather striking as one goes down the columns of the 1950 census reports.

<sup>3</sup> E. deS. Brunner and T. Lynn Smith, "Village Growth and Decline," *Rural Sociology*, June, 1944.

TABLE 3. PROPORTION OF INCORPORATED HAMLETS WHICH GAINED OR LOST POPULATION OR REMAINED UNCHANGED, 1940-50

Census division	Number of villages	Gained	Lost	Unchanged
		<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
United States .....	2238	32.1	64.0	3.9
Middle Atlantic .....	73	49.3	41.1	9.6
South Atlantic .....	288	49.3	45.5	5.2
East South Central.....	108	27.8	69.9	2.3
West South Central.....	231	21.2	77.5	1.3
East North Central.....	323	49.2	43.4	7.4
West North Central.....	1025	24.8	72.2	3.0
Mountain .....	140	30.1	67.2	2.7
Pacific .....	50	42.0	56.0	2.0

Table 3 indicates the proportion of incorporated hamlets which gained or lost population, 1940-50, and the proportion unchanged. The category "unchanged" was defined as those showing a change of not more than plus or minus one inhabitant.

Two hundred and forty-three non-suburban hamlets grew to be small villages in the 1940's. Since, as noted, 366 small villages had become hamlets in the same period, the net number of incorporated centers in this size group has increased.

The wisdom of incorporating very small centers has been questioned above. There were 441 new incorporations during the 1940-50 decade, as against 486 in the previous decade. Of these, 177 reported populations of less than 250. Over one-third of those were in the West North Central census division, almost one-fourth in the Mountain States. The South Atlantic States ranked third, with more than one-sixth. Only in the first named division, however, were there more hamlets incorporated than villages of over 250 inhabitants.

#### SUMMARY

In summary, this analysis of population trends for small villages seems to indicate that:

1. The influences of the depression decade of 1930-40 have ceased to oper-

ate and, while small centers have continued to gain, these gains have not been as general as in the previous decade. In this respect, the trends have diverged more than previously from those of the 1000- to 2500-size places.

2. Both growth and decline, especially the latter, are associated with changes in the size of farms, changes sufficiently large to affect population density.

3. The growth of a significant minority of small villages has been due to causes originating outside the agricultural interests which are still paramount in the lives of most such places. Services to the growing number of automobile travelers are an example.

4. The population trends of places with less than 750 population, and especially those with less than 500, raise doubts as to whether, except in areas of low density of population, such social institutions as high schools or public health units should be located in them.

5. Places of less than 250 population, classed as hamlets, have continued to show declining population. Though only a small fraction of places of this size group are in fact incorporated municipalities, a continuation of the trend in some census divisions to permit such incorporation seems of doubtful social value.

## THE DIFFUSION OF FARM AND HOME INFORMATION AS AN AREA OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH\*

by Herbert F. Lionberger†

### ABSTRACT

Farm and home practice improvement is affected by all the factors which condition the diffusion of culture traits. Many of the psychological, social, and cultural factors involved in the acceptance-use process can be detected and evaluated only in the context of the total socio-cultural configuration of which they are a part. Since these factors are group-determined, it is in the group situation that their influence must be assessed. Most research to date has been directed to limited aspects of acceptance-use conditions and processes. Almost no attention has been given to the significance of these and other factors in the context of sociological units which lend themselves to intensive investigation. The writer sees a need for research of this kind and for a clearer formulation of sociological hypotheses.

### THE PROBLEM IN ITS SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

Farm and home practice improvement is affected by all the factors which condition the diffusion of culture traits in general. New farm and home practices, like all innovations, are accepted primarily on the basis of their utility and their compatibility within the existing culture.<sup>1</sup> The *what* and *how* of acceptance is decided by those exposed to the new ideas. A host of psychological, social, and cultural factors enter into these decisions. Among these are the kind and quality of contacts, levels of aspiration, status accorded the innovator, relative importance attached to local group conformity, degree of dependence on local primary groups, evaluation placed upon new innovations by individuals and by the group, as well as the ability to utilize recommended innovations. Many of these factors can be detected and evaluated only in the context of the total socio-cultural configuration of which they are an integral part. Being group-determined, it is in the group

situation that their influence must be assessed. The investigator who would study the process is thus confronted with the problem of analyzing the social structure and the value construct in which people live and make their decisions. Effort to date has been directed to limited aspects of the conditions and processes of acceptance. Virtually no attention has been given to the significance of pertinent factors as they operate in the total configurational construct.

### CLASSIFICATION OF RESEARCH

Since most studies to date have been concerned with variant phases and conditions relating to the spread and acceptance of improved farm and home practices, a clear-cut classification of them is very difficult, if at all possible. However, from the standpoint of major emphasis it seems that they may be reasonably classified under the following general headings: (1) Studies primarily concerned with approved practices adopted and the reasons for adoption; (2) those primarily concerned with the educational effectiveness of communication media; (3) those primarily concerned with the diffusion process; and (4) those primarily concerned with the socio-cultural or social-psychological factors which limit or condition the adoption of improved

\*Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Madison, Wis., Sept. 3, 1951.

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<sup>1</sup>Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1936), p. 341.

farm and home practices. Included in this latter category are studies designed primarily to throw some light on the extent to which low-income farmers are being reached with educational materials.

#### FARM PRACTICE ADOPTION AND THE REASONS FOR ADOPTION

This approach has been used rather exclusively by administrators of action agencies who have been confronted with the need for devising more effective educational techniques. Notable in this connection has been the work of M. C. Wilson and associates, who made some 40 or 50 studies in cooperation with state and county extension personnel to determine the effectiveness of extension teaching devices. Farm operators and wives were generally asked what practices they had adopted during a specified period of time, usually the three years preceding interview, and to state the primary reasons for the adoptions made. The number of adoptions attributed to specific teaching methods was assumed to furnish a fairly reliable index of teaching effectiveness.

In most of these studies an attempt was also made to determine the attitudes of farm operators and wives toward the Extension Service, as well as the relationship of direct extension participation to farm and home practice adoption.<sup>2</sup>

Although these studies provided a considerable amount of information concerning the relative cost-accomplishment of different extension methods and the close relationship between

school attainment and direct extension participation, on the one hand, and adoption of farm and home practices, on the other, they had a number of limitations. In the first place, they were not designed to obtain a comprehensive view of how farm operators and wives get farm and home information. In the second place, as Wilson recognizes, Extension Service influence is almost certainly underestimated, due to the inability of farmers to recall all practices adopted during the 3-year period usually covered, and to the probable reluctance on the part of many farmers to admit receipt of help from outside sources. It is also doubtful whether farmers generally have sufficient insight to designate accurately the main factors responsible for the adoption of specific practices. In the third place, questionable sampling procedure makes it necessary to accept some of their data with caution. Yet, despite shortcomings, the studies did provide information immediately useful to government administrators concerned with the problem of influencing the adoption of improved farm and home practices. More recent studies<sup>3</sup> made by the federal office of the Agricultural Extension Service in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics are characterized by sounder procedures and are much more comprehensive in nature than the earlier studies done by the Agricultural Extension Service. They represent valuable contributions to a better understanding not only of the conditions of use and acceptance of farm and home practices

<sup>2</sup> A large number of these studies are summarized by C. B. Smith and M. C. Wilson in *Agricultural Extension System* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1930). For a more complete listing of these studies see Herbert F. Lionberger, "Reception and Use of Farm and Home Information by Low-Income Farmers in Selected Areas of Missouri" (doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri, 1950).

<sup>3</sup> *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part I: Farmers and the Extension Service*, Washington: U.S.D.A., Extension Service in cooperation with Bureau of Agricultural Economics (July, 1947); also Part II: *Farm Women and the Extension Service* (Nov., 1947). *The Lubbock County Study: An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Extension Work in Lubbock County, Texas, 1947*, College Station: Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas and U.S.D.A. and the Extension Service (1948).



but also of many cultural and psychological factors which condition or influence the acceptance-use process.

#### STUDIES CONCERNED WITH THE EDUCATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNICATION MEDIA

Many of these studies differ from those previously cited only in the degree to which attention is specifically directed to the teaching effectiveness of particular communication media. In a study relating to farm bulletins, Wilson found that method of distribution had little bearing on the use subsequently made of them.<sup>4</sup> As in previous studies, changes in farm practices attributed to bulletins, and acknowledgment of information from them, were taken as the measure of usefulness. Some light was also thrown on why bulletins were not used more extensively as sources of scientific farm information. Ivan M. Sinn used essentially the same method to determine the teaching effectiveness of circular letters.<sup>5</sup> Sinn's conclusions tended to corroborate what Wilson found concerning the effectiveness of circular letters in his earlier and more comprehensive studies. Wilson and associates, along with Mildred Murphy and Fred Frutche, subjected news services to about the same type of investigation. These and many similar studies have been planned and completed by extension personnel, but, as in the

studies previously described, careful sampling procedure was neglected.

Use of the radio as a source of farm and home information and the interest of farm people in farm information programs have been subjects of increasing interest to investigators during the past 10 years. The most comprehensive study of this kind was the nationwide radio survey made by Schuler under the auspices of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.<sup>6</sup> This study represents a degree of refinement in sampling and interviewing procedure which sets it apart from other studies mentioned in this and the previous section. Perhaps the most significant findings were those relating to program preferences of farm people, the use made of farm and home information programs, and the high value placed upon them by farm people.

More localized studies include a Louisiana survey of radio-listening habits and program preferences published by Schuler in 1943,<sup>7</sup> an Indiana reading and radio survey published by Johnston and Busche in 1942,<sup>8</sup> and a second Louisiana study published in 1949 by Alvin Bertrand and Homer Hitt.<sup>9</sup> In 1948, the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station and the United States Department of Agriculture published the results of a cooperative

<sup>4</sup> M. C. Wilson, *Distribution of Bulletins and Their Use by Farmers*. Washington, D. C.: Extension Circular 78, U. S. Department of Agriculture (May, 1928).

See also M. C. Wilson, *Influence of Bulletins, News Stories, and Circular Letters upon Farm Practices with Particular Reference to Methods of Bulletin Distribution*. Washington, D. C.: Extension Circular 57, U. S. Department of Agriculture (Sept., 1927).

<sup>5</sup> Ivan M. Sinn, *Circular Letters, An Analysis of Their Use by Extension Workers*. Washington, D. C.: Extension Circular 151, U. S. Department of Agriculture (Feb., 1931).

<sup>6</sup> Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Attitudes of Rural People Toward Radio Service, A Nation-Wide Survey of Farm and Small-Town People*. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture (Jan., 1946).

<sup>7</sup> Edgar A. Schuler, *Survey of Radio Listeners in Louisiana for the General Extension Division*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University (1943).

<sup>8</sup> T. R. Johnston and L. M. Busche, *Reading and Listening Habits of Farm Folks in Eleven Northeastern Indiana Counties*. Lafayette, Indiana: Extension Studies Circular 7, Purdue University (March, 1942).

<sup>9</sup> Alvin L. Bertrand and Homer L. Hitt, *Radio Habits in Rural Louisiana*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Bulletin No. 440, Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College (Sept., 1949).

study designed to determine the listening habits of rural people living in the primary coverage area of radio station WABI and the extent to which certain regularly broadcasted farm and home information programs were reaching them.<sup>10</sup> Wilhelm made a follow-up study of two experimental radio poultry schools conducted by Purdue University, to determine what proportion of original signers completed the study program, the instruction cost per pupil, and the type of people reached by the program.<sup>11</sup>

Farm journals have also been singled out for special consideration. During the latter 1940's a study was made by the Statistical Laboratory of Iowa State College for Wallace's *Farmer and Iowa Homestead*<sup>12</sup> to determine (1) what periodicals were coming regularly into Iowa farm homes, (2) from what sources Iowa farm operators and homemakers were getting scientific farm information, and (3) the prestige attached to specific sources from which the information was obtained. The result was one of the most reliable, comprehensive, and enlightening studies of its kind to date. Furthermore, it represents a recognition on the part of a commercial concern that competent sociological research is a matter for experts and not for the novice.

The foregoing studies have contributed materially to the knowledge concerning the use which farm operators

and wives make of communication media in obtaining farm and home information. However, the studies which made use of approved practice adoptions as the measure of source effectiveness are subject to the same limitations as the studies described in the previous section. Hence, their results must be accepted with a degree of caution.

#### STUDIES RELATING TO THE DIFFUSION PROCESS

Perhaps no more than two studies clearly fall in this category—namely, Ryan and Gross's study of the diffusion of hybrid seed corn in Iowa, and Trotter's study relating to the effectiveness of a 10-year "clover and prosperity" program in Missouri. Ryan and Gross initially interviewed a limited number of farmers in two Iowa communities to determine where they first learned about hybrid seed corn, the time elapsing before the first trial, the nature and degree of acceptance, and the operation of factors which contributed to final adoption.<sup>13</sup> Among their more fundamental contributions were the definition of an adoption time-sequence pattern, a description of the role various sources of information and influences played at the different stages of the acceptance process, and the functional classification of diffusion agencies. Ryan's extension of this study to the entire state of Iowa<sup>14</sup> disclosed nothing to change major conclusions and observations of the more limited study, except to relate adoption rates to certain additional socio-cultural conditions existing within selected regions of the state. The writer is somewhat skeptical of the conclusion

<sup>10</sup> Extension Service, *WABI Radio Study*. Bangor, Maine: University of Maine and Division of Field Studies and Training, U. S. Department of Agriculture cooperating (1943).

<sup>11</sup> L. A. Wilhelm, *A Report on the Second Poultry School of the Air*, Oct. 4-Nov. 11, 1943. Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University.

<sup>12</sup> Report of a Survey by the Statistical Laboratory of Iowa State College, "Information Please, A Study of the Information Sources of Iowa Farm Men and Women Based on Farm Interviews in Every County." Ames, Iowa: Wallace's *Farmer and Iowa Homestead* (1948).

<sup>13</sup> Bryce Ryan and Neal Gross, "The Diffusion of Hybrid Seed Corn in Two Iowa Communities," *Rural Sociology* (March, 1943), 8: 15-24.

<sup>14</sup> Bryce Ryan, "A Study of Technological Diffusion," *Rural Sociology* (Sept., 1948), 13: 273-85.

that little importance can be attached to cultural differences in explaining regional differential rates of adoption. There seems to be a very real possibility that cultural conditions varied from region to region in such a manner as to cancel out their influence on adoption rates. Nevertheless, the study in its final form<sup>15</sup> represents an important contribution to an understanding of the dynamics of the diffusion processes. A few studies of this kind will do more to put diffusion studies on a sound basis than an infinite number of studies of trait distributions at a given point in time.<sup>16</sup>

The Trotter and Wilson study was calculated to evaluate the effectiveness of a 10-year "clover and prosperity" program in Missouri,<sup>17</sup> by relating changes made in sweet clover culture by farmers who had attended one or more "clover and prosperity" meetings to the length of time "clover and prosperity" programs were used in the counties studied. Perhaps the primary contribution of this study was to demonstrate the cumulative influence of extension effort.

STUDIES CONCERNED WITH SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS WHICH LIMIT ACCEPTANCE OF APPROVED PRACTICES

The most valuable and exhaustive work relating to social and cultural factors which limit or condition farm practice adoption has been done by

Hoffer and Gibson of Michigan State College. In a community study initiated in 1940, they isolated a number of social and economic conditions bearing on extension success.<sup>18</sup> Gibson later found that extension participation, particularly types requiring active effort, varied greatly with the socio-economic status of the participants; also, that a very high percentage of low socio-economic status farmers had no contacts whatsoever with the Agricultural Extension Service.<sup>19</sup> In another study, published in 1944, Hoffer found that the use of approved celery production practices increased proportionately as contacts favorable to adoption offset the retarding influence of existing culture patterns.<sup>20</sup>

In a fourth study, Hoffer investigated the relationship between extension participation and extension effort.<sup>21</sup> The low correlation which he found between effort and participation was taken to indicate a multiplicity of factors operating to condition and limit participation. The causes of this low correlation were sought by holding extension effort constant and correlating participation with selected socio-economic factors thought to be significant. Very low and even negative correlations between extension partici-

<sup>15</sup> Bryce Ryan and Neal Gross, *Acceptance and Diffusion of Hybrid Seed Corn in Two Iowa Communities*. Ames: Research Bulletin 372, Agricultural Experiment Station, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (Jan., 1950).

<sup>16</sup> Linton, op. cit., p. 328.

<sup>17</sup> M. C. Wilson and Ide P. Trotter, *Results of Legume Extension in Three Southeast Missouri Counties Representing Three Stages of Development of a Statewide Legume Program, A Study of 639 Farms in Cape Girardeau, Jefferson, and Scott Counties, Missouri, 1930*. Washington, D. C.: Extension Circular 188, U. S. Department of Agriculture (June, 1933).

<sup>18</sup> C. R. Hoffer and D. L. Gibson, *The Community Situation As It Affects Agricultural Extension Work*. East Lansing: Special Bulletin 312, Michigan State College, Agricultural Experiment Station (Oct., 1941).

<sup>19</sup> D. L. Gibson, "The Clientele of the Agricultural Extension Service," *Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Quarterly Bulletin* (May, 1944), XXVI, No. 4.

<sup>20</sup> C. R. Hoffer, *Acceptance of Approved Farming Practices Among Farmers of Dutch Descent*. East Lansing: Special Bulletin 316, Michigan State College, Agricultural Experiment Station (June, 1942).

<sup>21</sup> C. R. Hoffer, *Selected Social Factors Affecting Participation of Farmers in Agricultural Extension Work*. East Lansing: Special Bulletin 331, Michigan State College, Agricultural Experiment Station (June, 1944).

pation and such factors as educational attainment and ownership of automobiles or telephones are probably the function of the author's method, and therefore cannot be taken as definitive. Obviously a system of correlations between counties rated on average educational attainment of operators and average participation could easily nullify the influence of this or any other factor so treated. Although this study raises about as many questions as it answers, the approach is quite original and could well be used under conditions where causal factors are directly related to the people who actually make decisions of acceptance and rejection.

A final Hoffer study appeared in 1946.<sup>22</sup> The purpose of this study was to determine (1) where farmers get information about farming, (2) whether they could identify potential community leaders, (3) what opinions they have toward the Extension Service and other programs designed to aid farmers, and (4) what social groups assist in promoting the objectives of the Extension Service. His major hypothesis was that effectiveness of extension effort increases with the degree to which it is related to existing group and organizational activities. Although evidence presented in support of this thesis leaves something to be desired, other objectives were very adequately fulfilled. Evidence clearly indicating the importance of mass communication media as a means of disseminating farm information was not exploited as it might have been.

Despite perplexing problems of method and interpretation which attend the treatment of elusive social-cultural conditions of acceptance-use, Hoffer and Gibson have made impor-

tant contributions in their pioneer efforts. They have successfully isolated and assessed the influence of several of these factors in the acceptance-use process. Their work has also provided many leads for further research of a related nature.

Unfortunately the more clearly social-psychological considerations in the acceptance and use of farm and home information have been quite generally avoided. Perhaps this neglect is due in no small measure to a feeling of inadequacy on the part of rural sociologists to use the requisite methods and techniques. The most distinctly socio-psychological approach must be credited to Wilkening<sup>23</sup> who has taken the position that changes in agricultural practice can be studied in terms of meaningful social and psychological variables and that acceptance-use is a function of meaningful social relations and ideological systems. For the first time in studies of this kind, open-end interviews were systematically used to define pertinent attitudes and values implicit and explicit in farmer responses. Admittedly, serious problems of reliability of interpretation are involved, but ideational factors involved in acceptance-use cannot be escaped if we expect to learn why farmers fail to accept recommended changes in farming practices. It is imperative that rural sociologists who expect to work in this field develop a proficiency in the use of pertinent research methods perfected by social psychologists, and that more such studies be made.

#### STUDIES OF LOW-INCOME FARMERS

Income assumes additional significance as a social classifier as economic differentials increase. As attendant social distances become greater, the problem of reaching all segments of the

<sup>22</sup> C. R. Hoffer, *Social Organization in Relation to Extension Service in Eaton County, Michigan*. East Lansing: Special Bulletin 338, Michigan State College, Agricultural Experiment Station (Aug., 1946).

<sup>23</sup> Eugene A. Wilkening, "A Socio-Psychological Approach to the Study of the Acceptance of Innovations in Farming," *Rural Sociology* (Dec., 1950), XV, No. 4.



farm population with scientific farm information also increases. Since this is true and since economic differentials are known to be increasing, this factor is singled out for special consideration.

Although there have been many so-called low-income farmer studies, only a few have investigated the extent to which low-income farmers are being reached by farm and home information. One of the Gibson studies previously cited revealed that farm operators rated in the lowest one-fifth, according to the Sewell socio-economic status scale, had decidedly fewer contacts with useful sources of farm information than those rated in the highest one-fifth.

Witt, in a study concerned mainly with causes and conditions of low-income status, sheds some light on the degree to which low-income farmers in Iowa are being reached by the Extension Service and by certain indirect educational methods.<sup>24</sup> In 1941, M. C. Wilson, drawing from Extension Service records and from his own previous studies, attempted to determine the extent to which various extension programs were reaching low-income farmers.<sup>25</sup> His attempt, however, appears to be more a defense of the existing direction of extension effort than a critical analysis of the problem. On the basis of such factors as farm tenancy rates, farm income, prevalence of hired labor, and differential relief rates he mapped areas in which disadvantaged farmers were concentrated. By most measures, the Southeast took precedence as a problem area. It was pointed out that proportionately more

federal funds go to the problem areas than to the more prosperous ones, and that the Southeast had a greater proportion of counties with three or more county agents than any region in the United States. The important consideration of duplicated effort along color lines was not mentioned. These comparisons, together with comparisons of the percentage of boys and girls reached by 4-H Club work, the proportion of farm families with home demonstration club memberships, and the estimated percentages of farm families influenced by extension effort are taken to mean that extension accomplishment in problem areas is greater than elsewhere.

Of course, such an approach throws no light on the degree to which the lower economic elements are being reached within specific localities. Wilson's attempt to determine the degree to which low-income farmers are being reached within a specific county falls short of the mark, because available data did not permit comparison of extension participation of low-income farmers with that of their more prosperous neighbors. Data cited from previous studies—which show that only a few more owners than tenants were reached by the Extension Service, that almost as many small farm owners as large farm owners were so reached, and that almost as many sons and daughters living in poor states participated in 4-H Club work as those living in the more prosperous states—are all inconclusive, for the same reason.

Defining low-income farmers as those in problem areas where farm incomes are generally low, as Wilson and others have done, evades much of the real significance attached to low-income status. A much more fruitful approach is to study farmers who have lower incomes than their neighbors. It is this relationship which constitutes an important determinant of a farmer's status and, thus, of his relationship to

<sup>24</sup> Lawrence W. Witt, *Economic Problems of Low-Income Farmers in Iowa*. Ames: Research Bulletin 307, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Agricultural Experiment Station (Oct., 1942).

<sup>25</sup> M. C. Wilson, *How and to What Extent Is the Extension Service Reaching Low-Income Farm Families*. Washington, D. C.: Extension Circular 375, U. S. Department of Agriculture (Dec., 1941).



other farmers in the community. Whatever socio-economic characteristics may be associated with low income and a lower relative position with respect to income may be assumed to prevail in such a group. Furthermore, if, due to low income, a farmer experiences any degree of isolation and if, by virtue of low income, he is placed in a lower social class, it is upon the basis of his relative position on the income scale in the place where he is known and where he and his associates are conscious of this relationship. Thus, a sample so selected takes on sociological meaning not found in a sample chosen from a universe where incomes are generally low.

If low-income farmers are selected from good farming areas and from the best land as well as the poorest, there is less likelihood that they will be viewed as inevitable products of the limited resources from which they draw their subsistence. There is less inclination either to ignore their situation or to suggest that they seek economic opportunity elsewhere. Farmers who have low incomes in relation to their neighbors and who live on good land in good farming areas are the ones most likely to be unrecognized, not the ones living where everybody has a low income and where the condition is recognized to the extent that the locality is labeled a problem area. This approach of selecting farmers who have low incomes in comparison with their neighbors has seldom been used by investigators concerned with low-income farmers. Consequently, studies to date have tended to localize the problem far more than actual conditions warrant. Although Witt purported to direct attention to farmers in Iowa who had substantially smaller incomes than most of their neighbors, he used the state and not the neighborhood as the basis for setting the criterion for low-income status.

So far as the writer is aware, the only study to date specifically directed to sources of farm and home information used by low-income farmers who live in close proximity to their more prosperous neighbors is his own.<sup>26</sup> Although this study did much to define the situation of low-income farmers in the more prosperous farming areas of the state of Missouri, and to determine their contacts with the available means of farm and home information and the use they make of them, little light was thrown upon the reasons for failing to adopt improved farm and home practices. To accomplish this, a more intensive study of the low-income farmer and his situation in the cultural-social-psychological complex in which he lives and makes his decisions will be required.

#### A CONFIGURATIONAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

Thus, many investigators using different approaches have made important contributions to existing knowledge and method concerning the diffusion and use of farm and home information; yet no investigator has taken all or even most of what is known concerning pertinent method and applied it in an intensive manner to one community. Furthermore, much vital information concerning the acceptance-use conditions and processes is still lacking. For example, little is known concerning why farm operators and wives fail to adopt new farm and home practices in accordance with their own

<sup>26</sup> Herbert F. Lionberger, *Low-Income Farmers in Missouri: Situation and Characteristics of 459 Farm Operators in Four Social Area B Counties*. Columbia: Research Bulletin 413, University of Missouri, Agricultural Experiment Station (April, 1948); also Research Bulletin 441, *Low-Income Farmers in Missouri: Their Contacts with Potential Sources of Farm and Home Information* (May, 1949), and Research Bulletin 472, *Sources and Use of Farm and Home Information by Low-Income Farmers in Missouri* (May, 1951).

self-interest. Little inquiry has been made into the basic attitudes and values bearing either upon specific innovations or upon the acceptance-use process in general. Little is known concerning the role or influence of informal types of association, such as social class and cliques, in the acceptance-use process. Essentially the same thing can be said concerning the role of mass communication media. Use of the social-psychological approach as Wilkening has done offers much promise for filling in many of these deficiencies; yet it, too, is segmental in nature and must be supplemented by other approaches.

Additional facets of the total configuration needing further investigation are suggested by Linton's analysis of the diffusion process.<sup>27</sup> To him, inherent communicability of traits is an essential consideration. This suggests a need for determining which practices can best be demonstrated, which may be transmitted verbally, and which ones must come as by-products of a long series of planned actions. Compatibility of recommended practices with the existing culture is suggested as another important consideration. If, for example, farmers receive favorable recognition for planting straight rows of corn, they are less likely to accept contour farming, which requires the planting of crooked rows.

The prestige of the donor group, person, or culture is always a conditioning factor in the diffusion process. Valuable contributions can be made by defining patterns of influence and by measuring the prestige of sources from which farmers ordinarily receive new ideas about farming and homemaking. The importance of studying attitudes and values bearing directly or indirectly upon the acceptance or rejection of new ideas about farming and homemaking has already been stressed.

Obviously many of the psychological and cultural factors defy objective observation and quantification, but many errors of observation and interpretation stemming from inability to subject elements of observation to mathematical treatment and verification can be minimized through insight accruing from a knowledge of the total configuration. A piecemeal approach will hardly suffice, because of the multitude of psychological, social, and cultural factors involved, and because of the impossibility of assessing the true significance of these factors outside the local group situation. There is now a real need to apply what is known regarding method in this and related fields to a single natural area of association, with the view of assessing the influence of pertinent factors in their most meaningful context—namely, in the sociological groups in which farm people do most of their living. Perhaps the trade-area community is the most expedient from the standpoint of size. It is small enough for intensive study and yet large enough to contain neighborhoods, cliques, and social strata, if such indeed are present. Certainly the natural area of association is to be preferred to such civil entities as townships and counties.

These and other related problems must be investigated and their significance evaluated if colleges of agriculture are to be of maximum usefulness in extending their services to those whom they are designed to serve. We know that many farm people do not readily accept information and services offered by land-grant colleges, even though they may be had without direct cost and with the expenditure of little effort. Educational effort which recognizes the cultural, social, and psychological conditions of farm life is required, and this in turn must be built upon sound research.

<sup>27</sup> Linton, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-346.

## DISCUSSION

by Eugene A. Wilkening†

Professor Lionberger's paper is pertinent to the growing research effort in the diffusion and acceptance of farm and home practices. The title of the paper, however, leaves one in doubt whether Mr. Lionberger is concerned primarily with the dissemination of information or with the total process of adoption of new farm and home practices. Judging by content, however, one must assume that he is concerned with the total process of acceptance of farm and home practices, of which the dissemination of information is a part.

Since this paper is concerned with the delineation of an area of sociological research, the classification and analysis of research studies is important. It appears to me that Mr. Lionberger's classification of the studies which have been made in this field lacks clarity and analytical usefulness. It does not represent a logical division based either upon content or upon the methodology employed. For example, under both his first and second headings Mr. Lionberger discusses studies in the Extension Service which are concerned with educational techniques. Furthermore, it appears that the studies included under the fourth heading—those pertaining to socio-cultural and socio-psychological factors—attempt to get at the reasons for adoption or nonadoption mentioned under the first heading.

"What is a better scheme?" will no doubt be asked. In response, I will take the liberty of presenting briefly the scheme worked out by the subcommittee on the Diffusion and Adoption of Farm Practices, of which I am co-chairman and one of five members. Other members of the committee include co-chairman Neal Gross, Lee Coleman, Charles Hoffer, and Harald Pedersen.<sup>1</sup> This committee agreed upon four major areas of study in the diffusion and adoption of farm practices: (1) the differential acceptance of farm practices as a function of status, role, and motivation; (2) the differential acceptance of farm practices as a function of the socio-cultural system; (3) diffusion as a study of cultural change; and (4) diffusion as a problem of communication of information.

The first type of study, as outlined by the committee, approaches the study of diffusion as a function of the decisions of

individuals who have different statuses, roles, and motivations. These differences include age, education, tenure, social contacts, leadership, levels of aspiration, and personality characteristics. The focus here is upon the individual and the qualities which make him more or less favorable toward the acceptance of innovations in farm and home practices. Most studies of acceptance have taken into account one or more of these factors, but few have attempted to attack the problem of motivation, which is the real key to understanding acceptance.

It appears that what is needed is more extensive as well as more intensive studies, if we are to determine the relationship of acceptance to status, role, and motivation. For studying motivation we need intensive case studies using techniques of discerning<sup>2</sup> in establishing causal connections in sequences of events, and content analyses of interview and behavioral data. On the other hand, there is a need for more extensive studies using analysis of variance and other statistical devices for determining the relationship of the more measurable characteristics (such as age, education, and tenure) to adoption, with the other factors held constant.

The second type of study as outlined by the committee focuses upon the socio-cultural system rather than upon the individuals making up that system. Mr. Lionberger seems to confuse these two by including the socio-cultural with the socio-psychological. While studies dealing with socio-cultural variables as related to acceptance of technological innovations have been few, certain anthropological studies have provided data of this type. These are not mentioned in the Lionberger paper. The works of Bronislaw Malinowski, Horace Minor, Robert Redfield, Walter Kollmorgen, and others have provided data as well as a theoretical framework for the consideration of technological change as a function of culture. The Rural Life Studies of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics have also dealt with the broad problem of technological change as related to the social structure and culture of certain communities. Pedersen's study of the acceptance of farm practices among Danish and Polish ethnic groups also shows the significance of cultural factors in the diffusion of certain farm practices.

There is a need for studies which relate the social and cultural variables isolated by

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<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was presented at the meeting, Herbert Lionberger has been added to the committee.

<sup>2</sup> Mirra Komarovsky, *The Unemployed Worker and His Family* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1940).

the anthropologists to the acceptance or nonacceptance of specific practices. For example, the degree of social stratification, the opportunity for social mobility, the degree of cultural isolation, the degree of functional organization, the value placed upon certain types of farming, and the degree of sacred versus secular orientation are important socio-cultural variables probably related to the acceptance of different types of farm and home practices. Studies of communities differing in respect to the above variables will be required.

Diffusion as the study of cultural change is discussed by Mr. Lionberger under a heading similar to that of the committee. Here, it seems, some reference should have been made to the studies made by Chapin, Ogburn, and Pemberton—studies pertaining to the rates of cultural change and factors related to those rates. These authors view the acceptance of innovations in terms of their uniformities in time and space. As Mr. Lionberger points out, the emphasis of this type of study is upon the process of acceptance or diffusion. Extensive studies covering large areas, as well as intensive studies within communities, are needed to determine rates of diffusion and the factors which affect those rates. The effects of external factors such as price fluctuation, drouth, and insect infestation upon the acceptance of technological innovations should be a part of this type of study. Another purpose of such studies is to show the different roles of the various agencies of communication in each stage of acceptance.

The fourth type of study listed by the committee is similar to the second one listed by Mr. Lionberger. Lionberger, however, makes no effort to classify the variety of studies falling under this heading. As I have stated in a previous paper,<sup>3</sup> studies of this type may be classified in four subtypes: (1) studies dealing primarily with the agencies of communication of farm information, and with the content of the information transmitted; (2) studies dealing with the differential personal and social characteristics of farmers receiving different types of information; (3) studies concerned with the effects produced by the information; and (4) studies dealing with the relationships of the above three factors.

Most of the studies of radio listening and reading habits fall under the first heading and are of limited sociological value, except when the characteristics of the persons involved or the effects of the information transmitted have been considered. For ex-

ample, *Radio Habits in Rural Louisiana*, by Bertrand and Hitt, would have been considerably enhanced by the inclusion of more analysis of listening habits by socioeconomic factors.

Studies dealing with the effectiveness of different media of communication have been attempted by many agencies, particularly the Extension Service. This agency has accumulated scores of studies dealing with the effectiveness of different means of disseminating farm and home information. The main limitation of most of these studies, as I see it, is that they are confined to the study of the different types of contacts with the Extension Service. Usually, the category "indirect influence" was used to include all contacts for information not directly involving the Extension Service.

The understanding of the process of communicating information to farmers requires more intensive studies than those produced so far. My experience in three different studies attempting to determine "first" sources, "best" sources, sources for "most" information, and "most influential" sources of information for specific farm practices has humbled me concerning the difficulties involved and the qualifications which must be made of the data obtained. Perhaps what is needed are more intensive case studies probing into the experiences of farmers with respect to the different ways in which information is communicated to them, as well as experimental designs to test the effectiveness of specific techniques and methods. It may be that there has been a tendency to overemphasize the role of the mass media and other vested interests in the communication of information among farmers. I suggest starting with the farmer himself in his daily habits of living to determine just how the different means of communication fit in. Perhaps then we will attribute less significance to the circular letters which may be lost in the household shuffle, to the occasional contact with the county agent, and even to the daily radio program interrupted by farm and household chores—and more to the Sunday visit with a neighbor or relative, to the gossip in the country store, and to day-to-day talks with neighbors and associates. It is doubtful that more than a few people have the independence of thought and action to act upon the advice of an agricultural official, a radio voice, or the article of a college professor in a farm journal, without some support from personal associates.

Now, I am wondering wherein Mr. Lionberger's configurational approach to dif-

<sup>3</sup> Eugene A. Wilkening, "Sources of Information for Improved Farm Practices," *Rural Sociology*, XV (March, 1950), pp. 19-30.



fusion fits. Perhaps it is an approach which takes into account all factors and all things at the same time. If, as he suggests, an investigator should take "all or even most of what is known concerning pertinent method and apply it in an intensive manner to one community," he would certainly deserve much praise for the attempt. Whatever approach is used in studying the problem of diffusion of farm and home practices, I think it is essential first to state the problem in terms of its generic relationships. The diffusion of farm and home practices may be regarded as a problem of cultural change. An alternative point of departure is that provided by learning theory. After stating our problem in terms of a general theory, whichever we choose, we must next explore intensively the field we are to study in order to develop more specific hypotheses consistent with that general theory. Maybe this is the stage into which Mr. Lionberger's configurational approach fits. Starting with such intensive community studies we must arrive at more generalized knowledge which is independent of a specific set of circumstances. To accomplish this, hypotheses stated in terms of these variables must be tested under varying circumstances. Extensive as well as intensive and experimental studies are needed.

#### REJOINDER

*by Herbert F. Lionberger*

The usefulness of any classification scheme lies in the purpose for which it is intended. My colleague suggests a very satisfactory one for placing needed research

in a sociological frame of reference. As a means of classifying general studies, many without any sociological frame of reference, it seems to have no special merit. The classification scheme presented in my paper was intended only to facilitate evaluation of a wide variety of studies bearing on farm practice acceptance-use. Both schemes suffer from the difficulty characteristic of classification schemes which purport to separate interrelated complexes into discrete areas for special consideration. If one wishes to respect the integrity of the studies made, as the writer chose to do, it is doubtful if any sociological classification scheme can be found into which such functionally oriented studies will neatly fit.

By a configurational approach to the study of farm practice acceptance and use the writer merely means the study of conditions and processes of acceptance-use in extended group situations where acceptance-use factors have their greatest meaning, by the use of available pertinent techniques and methods from whatever the source may be. Certainly it is an ambitious undertaking and perhaps something of an ideal never to be completely attained. However, the proposal can be reduced to the realm of possibility by limiting initial study to such meaningful social groups as the rural community. As a matter of fact, it seems likely that many questions concerning barriers to the acceptance and use of farm and home information will remain unanswered in the absence of such studies. Such studies should also provide a fruitful source of hypotheses for more extensive research.



## THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SCALE FOR MEASURING COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY\*

by Donald R. Fessler†

### ABSTRACT

The primary rural community functions as a social group possessing its own set of values and common norms of social behavior. To measure the solidarity of such communities in Iowa, in order to determine whether those with farmers' cooperatives were different from those without, a schedule was devised which included forty statements about the social behavior of the members of the community in eight different areas of activity. By comparing the scores of community members on this schedule, the degree of consensus among them about the institutionalized behavior of their community was determined. A low standard deviation of scores indicated a high degree of consensus. This was taken as a measure of the community's solidarity. The distribution of statements into eight areas of community behavior made possible the construction of an octagonal profile of each community revealing the evaluation of the community by its members, the degree of balance between areas of behavior, and the degree of consensus in each area.

Recently one of the leading wholesale cooperative associations in the Midwest asked members of the Sociology Department of Iowa State College to make a study of farmers' cooperatives in the state of Iowa. Among other things that the association was interested in was the relation of local cooperatives to the communities in which they had been established. As the planning of the study progressed, it became evident that, in order to clarify this relationship of cooperative to community, it was necessary first of all to determine whether or not communities with cooperatives were different from communities without them, and what the differences, if any, were. To do this, indexes had to be devised which would make possible the statistical comparison of primary rural communities according to various economic and sociological components.

A primary rural community was defined for the purposes of this study as an organized concentration of individuals providing most of the basic insti-

tutions of life, but one small enough so that the majority of personal contacts afforded within this institutional framework were of an intimate, face-to-face nature.

Since cooperatives are organized primarily for economic purposes, indexes dealing with the economic aspects of community life were given priority. The two indexes developed for this purpose—a Business Service Index and a Per Capita Financial Strength Index—indicated that primary rural communities in which cooperatives had been established provided significantly more economic services and maintained greater financial stability than the communities which did not possess cooperatives. These findings were published in February, 1951.<sup>1</sup>

These economic indexes deal with only two of the many components of community which may serve to distinguish one community from another. In order to analyze and compare more thoroughly the two kinds of communi-

\*Presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Madison, Wis., Sept. 3, 1951.

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<sup>1</sup> George Beal, D. R. Fessler, and Ray E. Wakeley, *Agricultural Cooperatives in Iowa: Member Opinions and Community Relations*. Iowa State College Agr. Exp. Sta. Res. Bull. No. 379, 1951.

ties under consideration, other indexes were needed. The very nature of cooperative principles and organization, for example, suggested the question of whether or not communities with cooperatives were characterized by greater community solidarity than those without them.

To answer this particular question, another index has been devised. It is the purpose of this paper to describe the development of this latter index, which was designed primarily to measure the degree of solidarity existing within primary rural communities in Iowa. The index is not presented here as a finished instrument; it will have obvious defects to those who have worked with community measurements. It does have characteristics, however, that may merit further consideration.

Observations made in the sixteen primary rural communities of the earlier study supported the thesis developed by Hiller,<sup>2</sup> that the primary rural community functions as a social group and, among other characteristics of such a group, possesses its own set of values and common norms of behavior. From this point of view, the primary rural community may be defined and analyzed for comparative purposes according to the extent to which community members express opinions indicating the possession of common attitudes.

When community attitudes cluster about a distinct core of values and common social norms of behavior distinct from those possessed by the larger society of which the community is a part, community solidarity may be assumed to be high; when opinions are disparate, the community is not functioning well as a social group and solidarity may be said to be lacking.

In accepting this approach to community solidarity, one does not necessarily assume that the possession of a high degree of solidarity means that the community is a "good" community or that the lack of it results in a "poor" community. Group solidarity is simply one of the characteristics of the primary rural community and one which it is desired to measure in a manner to make sociological comparisons of communities possible.

Obviously it is important to determine the population limits of the community which can function as a group and in which at least a minimum of solidarity can be expected to exist. Practical considerations and experience in the field, rather than theoretical arguments, set the maximum population limits of the sample of primary rural communities in the Iowa study at two thousand for the community as a whole, or an average of one thousand for the trade center and a thousand for the outlying farm area. In Iowa such a ratio of farm to village population has been found to exist. The fact that, within these limits, no significant correlation existed between the degree of solidarity (as finally measured) and community size would seem to indicate that the maximum population limit for a primary rural community had not been exceeded.

The minimum population limit of 250 was chosen since it was found that only communities containing 250 or more people were able to support a majority of the institutions needed to provide a self-sufficient social life.

If the degree of consensus among community members is to be taken as a measure of community solidarity, almost any subject on which people express an opinion may be used in an index of solidarity. The subject most likely to fall within the range of each individual's experience, however, is the social behavior in which the individual participates within his own

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Hiller, "The Community as a Social Group," *American Sociological Review*, 1941, 6:189-90.

community in the give-and-take of everyday life. Opinions on war, communism, universal military training, sex education, and like subjects might also be sought; but any index built around such subjects would have to allow for the fact that the relationship of each individual to the subject and his knowledge about it might vary considerably within the community and from community to community.

In order to elicit the opinions of community members about the social behavior taking place in their community, a number of criteria were set up for behavior in different institutionalized areas of community life. Each of these criteria, totalling 59 in all, was translated into a favorable and an unfavorable statement as it might refer to the community being tested. The 118 such statements thus developed fell almost equally into eight major areas of community behavior: (1) community spirit, (2) interpersonal relations, (3) family responsibility toward the community, (4) schools, (5) churches, (6) economic behavior, (7) local government, and (8) tension areas.

As a pretest, the 118 statements were read to high-school juniors and seniors in eight primary rural communities in Iowa. The students were asked to record their spontaneous reaction to each statement as they felt it applied to their community. By circling the proper response on the schedule, the students indicated whether, in their opinions, each statement was "very true," "true," "not applicable," "untrue," or "definitely untrue" of their community. Scores ranged from five for the statements most favorable to the community to one for the least favorable.

#### THE TEST OF INTERNAL CONSISTENCY

By the test of internal consistency, all but forty of the statements were eliminated. These forty statements—

some of which were worded positively and some negatively—were, by design, divided equally among the eight areas of community behavior and each referred to a different criterion of behavior in that area. For instance, in Area II, in their relations with one another, members of a good community could be expected to (1) avoid being critical of each other, (2) be polite and courteous, (3) develop a sense of belonging to the community group as a whole, (4) have a capacity for being friends, and (5) be tolerant of individual differences.

After the forty statements were chosen in this manner, a question was raised as to whether or not the criteria of community to which they referred would be considered the most acceptable criteria by people in general. For this reason the original 59 criteria were submitted to over a hundred college students who were asked to rate each criterion as either (1) essential to a good community, (2) important to it but not essential, or (3) not important. By the use of this three-point rating system it was possible to score each criterion and give it a rank order. When the rank order of the criteria determined in this fashion was compared with the rank order assigned the statements by the test of internal consistency (that is, by the size of the coefficient of correlation between the individual statement scores and the total schedule scores in the high-school pretest), a highly significant correlation was found to exist between them. Furthermore, when the college students were divided according to the size of their home communities, the coefficient of correlation between the pretest rank and the rank given the criteria by the college students from communities with trade centers having populations of 2500 or less was .85; populations of 2501 to 5000, .67; populations of 5001 to 15,000, .71; and populations of 15,001 to 125,000, .53. These

figures would seem to indicate that individuals who themselves came from rural communities were inclined to favor these particular criteria more than individuals who came from larger centers. This is important, since the index for which the criteria were being chosen was intended for rural and not for urban communities.

It should be reiterated here that the actual choice of the forty statements was based on the test of internal consistency as applied to the schedules used in the high schools of eight Iowa communities. The rating of the criteria of a good community was carried out by college students; the purpose of this rating was to gain assurance that the criteria of community chosen as the basis for the forty statements were generally acceptable.

#### OBTAINING COMMUNITY SCORES

Having established, by the test of internal consistency, which of the statements were to be used in the final schedule, the other 78 statements in the original high-school schedule were discarded and a score was computed from the forty statements for each of the eight communities. The high-school students in each community had included village and open-country students living within the community boundaries and some open-country students living outside the community but attending its schools. In computing a community score as well as in making the test of internal consistency, only those schedules were used which had been filled out by students actually belonging within the communities tested.

Community boundaries were based on grocery trade areas as determined by the Iowa State Planning Commission in 1939. These areas were checked with the local merchants and a sample of farmers living along the boundary lines were interviewed to determine whether or not they considered themselves members of the community in question. This last step determined

the final boundary lines as used in this study.

On the basis of these schedules, a mean score and a standard deviation of scores were computed for each of the eight areas of behavior in each of the communities. A total score and an average standard deviation score were also computed for each community. These scores are given in Table 1. The mean score for each community indicates what, in general, a sample of the population think of the institutions of that community; it may be looked upon as an index of that quality of community which cannot be measured in terms of the physical facilities of community life alone. That is, in a sense, the institutionalized behavior of a primary rural community is relatively superior insofar as it is scored high by community members, and it is relatively inferior when it is scored low by them, regardless of how well it meets the standards set by the society of which the community is a part.

The standard deviation of the scores of all the schedules for each community is a statistical measure of the degree of consensus among community members about the social behavior of their community. It is a measure of community solidarity. The smaller the standard deviation, the more in agreement the people are, regardless of whether their opinions result in a high or low estimate of their community.

In four of the eight communities tested, there were available enough schedules filled out by open-country students living outside the boundaries of the respective communities to make possible a statistical comparison of their scores with the scores of the students who lived within the communities being measured. No statistically significant difference occurred in any of these communities between the mean community score obtained from the two groups of schedules. In other words, students living outside the com-



TABLE 1. INDEX SCORES FOR COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY BY AREAS OF BEHAVIOR

Communities and Total Scores	Item	Mean Score and S.D. for Each Area of Institutionalized Behavior*								Average S.D.
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Hanlontown 152.8	Mean	18.2	19.5	19.9	19.7	18.4	19.0	18.7	19.4	2.06
	S.D.	2.7	1.9	1.9	1.7	2.1	2.6	2.2	1.4	
Garrison 147.6	Mean	18.8	18.7	17.8	19.1	17.9	19.3	17.1	18.9	2.40
	S.D.	2.3	2.1	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.0	2.8	2.2	
Burt 139.3	Mean	16.4	17.9	18.5	18.1	17.3	17.6	15.7	17.8	2.98
	S.D.	3.5	3.2	3.0	3.4	2.8	2.4	2.6	2.9	
Waukee 136.6	Mean	14.4	17.7	17.8	18.3	17.6	18.0	14.7	18.1	2.80
	S.D.	3.1	2.8	2.9	2.7	3.3	2.7	3.4	1.3	
Floyd 133.9	Mean	16.1	16.5	16.0	18.2	15.0	18.5	16.6	17.0	2.16
	S.D.	1.1	2.7	3.2	2.6	1.3	1.8	2.8	1.8	
Moravia 122.5	Mean	15.1	16.1	15.8	16.6	15.6	14.8	13.4	15.1	2.89
	S.D.	3.0	2.8	3.2	3.1	2.6	3.0	2.8	2.6	
Dunkerton 113.8	Mean	13.4	12.7	15.6	16.7	13.4	15.0	11.1	15.9	3.40
	S.D.	4.1	4.5	2.3	2.1	4.4	4.2	3.1	2.4	
Runnells 106.1	Mean	12.8	12.8	13.4	15.1	11.5	13.9	12.6	14.0	3.15
	S.D.	3.2	3.8	2.9	4.2	2.6	2.7	2.8	3.0	

\*The areas of behavior are: I, community spirit; II, interpersonal relations; III, family responsibility toward the community; IV, schools; V, churches; VI, economic behavior; VII, local government; and VIII, tension areas.

munity and who, except for their schooling, functioned as members of other communities, had, on the average, about the same opinion of the social behavior of the community tested as did the students who lived in it. The standard deviations of scores of the schedules from outside the communities appeared to be larger than the standard deviations of scores of schedules of students living within the community, but the difference was not statistically significant.

#### RELIABILITY OF THE INDEX

In order to test the reliability of the index, the forty statements of the schedule were arranged in the order in which they were ranked in the test of internal consistency. The statements were then numbered in order and a total score obtained from the odd-numbered statements and another

score computed from the even-numbered statements. When a split-half coefficient of correlation was computed for these two sets of scores, the correlation was found to be high.

While the index is called an index of community solidarity, it actually tests two things: (1) how the members of a community rate the social behavior of their community, and (2) how much consensus exists in each community. Only in this latter sense is it an index of solidarity. The sample of communities so far tested is too small to obtain statistically satisfactory correlations, but a glimpse at Table 1 will show that a negative correlation appears to exist between total index scores and the average standard deviations of scores. If this proves to be true with a larger sample of communities—and it seems safe to expect that it will—then the more favorably the



members of a community look upon the social behavior of their community, the more likely that a high degree of solidarity exists among them.

Whether or not a rating of the institutionalized behavior of a community by its members has any correlation to the results of other measures of community cannot be satisfactorily determined until the Solidarity Index has been applied to a much larger sample of communities. Until it is validated by comparison to other measures of community, this aspect of the index will need to be held in abeyance, but in time it may prove to be its most valuable characteristic.

#### THE INDEX AS A BASIS FOR COMPARISONS

Of the eight communities in which the Community Solidarity Index schedules were used, five had farmers' cooperatives and three did not. When the average total index scores of the communities with and without cooperatives were tested by the chi-square method, the difference between them was found to be highly significant. The index scores could be used in a similar fashion to make statistical comparisons of groups of communities in relation to other variables.

#### FUTURE APPLICATION OF THE INDEX

The Community Solidarity Index schedules have so far been applied only to high-school juniors and seniors in eight Iowa primary rural communities for the purpose of pretesting. The schedule was intended for application to a random sample of the adult members of a community. A comparison of scores obtained by the random sample method and by the use of schedules in the schools should prove helpful. If a significantly high correlation exists between them, it may be possible, for at least some future purposes, to rely on the high-school schedules. This would make possible considerable economy of time and expense.

#### THE COMMUNITY PROFILE

One further characteristic of the Community Solidarity Index deserves mention here. When the schedule of forty statements was set up, care was taken to choose, in each of the eight different areas of community life, criteria of behavior which were nearest the mean in the test of internal consistency and which, therefore, carried more or less equal weight with the other criteria used in the schedule. The entire forty criteria, as expressed in the statements in the schedule, may therefore be looked upon as presenting a well-rounded picture of community life. This may be graphically represented by an octagon, as shown in Figure 1, in which each point represents one of the eight areas of the index. In the base (outer) octagon, which represents a community with a perfect score, the distance from center to point represents the maximum score of 25 points which may be attained on the five statements in that area. The points are numbered clockwise for the different areas, beginning with Area I near the 2-o'clock position and ending with Area VIII at 12 o'clock.

The mean score for the five statements in each area is plotted on the radius of that area, with one sigma distance indicated between it and the center and another sigma distance marked off between it and the outer point. By connecting these respective points in all eight areas, three octagons are formed which make readily apparent (1) how the scores of a particular community approximate those of a community with a perfect score represented by the base octagon, (2) how the different areas of institutionalized behavior of a community compare with each other, and (3) how much consensus exists in each area.

Figure 1 shows that Community G, with a high score of 147.6, has a high degree of consensus in each of the eight areas, as indicated by the sigma

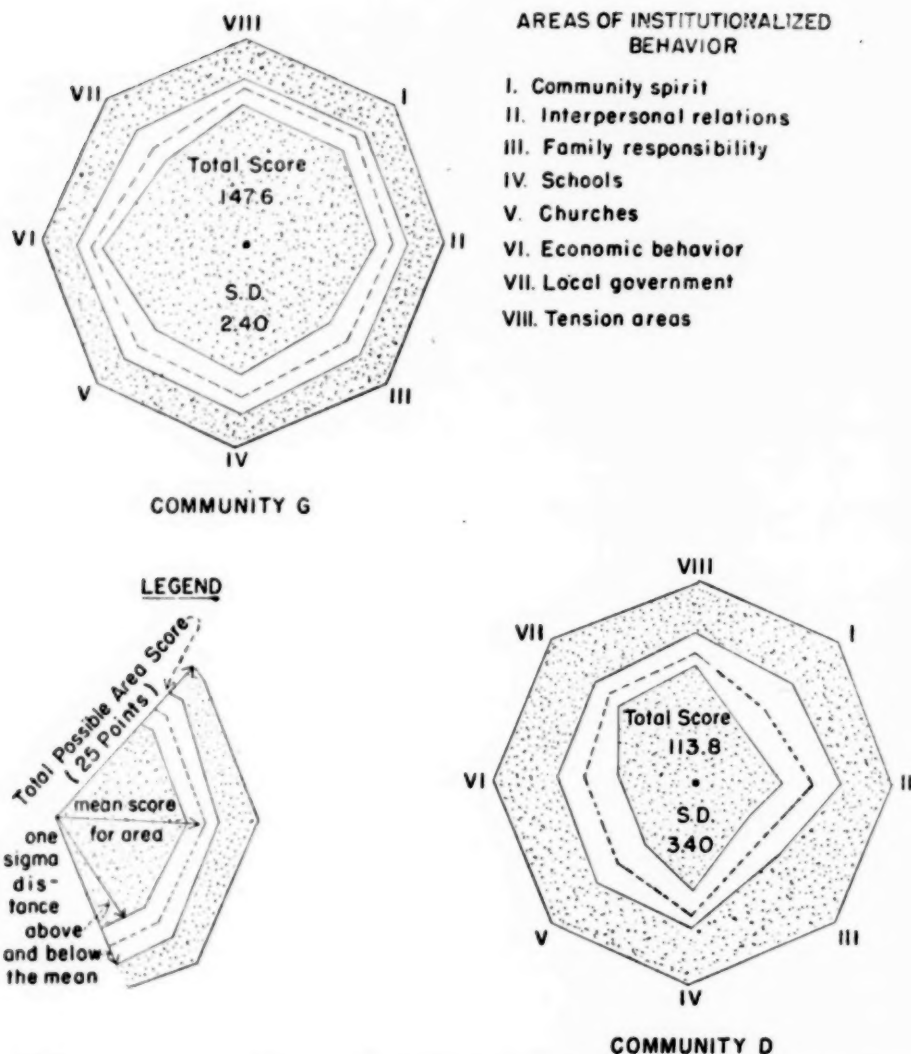


FIGURE 1. A COMPARISON OF THE COMMUNITY PROFILES OF TWO IOWA PRIMARY RURAL COMMUNITIES.

distances on either side of the mean. The octagons form a symmetrical pattern which indicates that, in the opinion of members of the community, its social behavior is good in all areas—it is a well-balanced community. The representation of Community D, on the other hand, reveals wide diversity

of opinion within most areas, a varying degree of consensus from area to area, and a low estimate in some areas and a moderately low estimate in others. It is asymmetrical. The opinions of community members reveal that the social behavior of the community is not well balanced.

## FURTHER USE OF THE INDEX IN IOWA

As an extension of the study of farmers' cooperatives in Iowa, there is now in the planning stage a research project involving a random sample of thirty Iowa primary rural communities in which the community indexes developed so far, and others yet to be devised, will be used. The present index of community solidarity will be included, after such improvements are made in it as may result from the pre-

sentation and criticism of this paper. When the index scores are correlated with the presence or absence of consolidated schools, the proximity to main highways and to larger centers, the presence or absence of ethnic minorities, the number and strength of religious organizations, and other variables, some indication may be had of the underlying causes for the varying degrees of solidarity in primary rural communities.

## COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY INDEX SCHEDULE

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Community \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Married \_\_\_\_\_ Single \_\_\_\_\_

If married, number of children in school, if any \_\_\_\_\_ boys \_\_\_\_\_ girls

number of children out of school \_\_\_\_\_

Number of years resident in community \_\_\_\_\_

Location of residence: in town \_\_\_\_\_ outside of town \_\_\_\_\_ how far \_\_\_\_\_ miles?

Think of each of the statements below as relating to the people of this entire community both in town and on the neighboring farms. If you think the statement fits this community very well, after the statement circle *vt* (for very true); if it applies only partially, circle *t* (for true); if you cannot see how it relates one way or another to this particular community, circle *nd* (for not decided); if you think it is not true, circle *u* (for untrue); and if it definitely is not true, circle *du* (for definitely untrue). PLEASE RECORD THE IMPRESSION THAT FIRST OCCURS TO YOU. Do not go back and change your answers.

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. Real friends are hard to find in this community.  | vt t nd u du (2)* |
| 2. Our schools do a poor job of preparing young people for life.                           | vt t nd u du (4)  |
| 3. Local concerns deal fairly and squarely with everyone.                                  | vt t nd u du (6)  |
| 4. The community is very peaceful and orderly.   | vt t nd u du (8)  |
| 5. A lot of people here think they are too nice for you.                                   | vt t nd u du (1)  |
| 6. Families in this community keep their children under control.                           | vt t nd u du (3)  |
| 7. The different churches here cooperate well with one another.                            | vt t nd u du (5)  |
| 8. Some people here "get by with murder" while others take the rap for any little misdeed. | vt t nd u du (7)  |
| 9. Almost everyone is polite and courteous to you.   | vt t nd u du (2)  |
| 10. Our schools do a good job of preparing students for college.                           | vt t nd u du (4)  |

\*The number in parentheses indicates the area to which the statement belongs.

(Continued)

## COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY INDEX SCHEDULE—Continued

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| 11. Everyone here tries to take advantage of you.  | vt t nd u du (6)* |
| 12. People around here show good judgment.   | vt t nd u du (8)  |
| 13. People won't work together to get things done for the community.   | vt t nd u du (1)  |
| 14. Parents teach their children to respect other people's rights and property.                                  | vt t nd u du (3)  |
| 15. Most of our church people forget the meaning of the word brotherhood when they get out of church.            | vt t nd u du (5)  |
| 16. This community lacks real leaders.   | vt t nd u du (7)  |
| 17. People give you a bad time if you insist on being different.   | vt t nd u du (2)  |
| 18. Our high-school graduates take an active interest in making their community a better place in which to live. | vt t nd u du (4)  |
| 19. A few people here make all the dough.  | vt t nd u du (6)  |
| 20. Too many young people get into sex difficulties.   | vt t nd u du (8)  |
| 21. The community tries hard to help its young people along.   | vt t nd u du (1)  |
| 22. Folks are unconcerned about what their kids do so long as they keep out of trouble.                          | vt t nd u du (3)  |
| 23. The churches are a constructive factor for better community life.  | vt t nd u du (5)  |
| 24. The mayor and councilmen run the town to suit themselves.  | vt t nd u du (7)  |
| 25. I feel very much that I belong here.   | vt t nd u du (2)  |
| 26. Many young people in the community do not finish high school.  | vt t nd u du (4)  |
| 27. The people here are all penny-pinchers.  | vt t nd u du (6)  |
| 28. You must spent lots of money to be accepted here.  | vt t nd u du (8)  |
| 29. The people as a whole mind their own business.   | vt t nd u du (1)  |
| 30. Most people get their families to Sunday School or church on Sunday.   | vt t nd u du (3)  |
| 31. Every church wants to be the biggest and the most impressive.  | vt t nd u du (5)  |
| 32. A few have the town politics well sewed up.  | vt t nd u du (7)  |
| 33. Most of the students here learn to read and write well.  | vt t nd u du (4)  |
| 34. People are generally critical of others.   | vt t nd u du (2)  |
| 35. Local concerns expect their paid help to live on low wages.  | vt t nd u du (6)  |
| 36. You are out of luck here if you happen to belong to the wrong nationality.                                   | vt t nd u du (8)  |
| 37. No one seems to care much how the community looks.   | vt t nd u du (1)  |
| 38. If their children keep out of the way, parents are satisfied to let them do whatever they want to do.        | vt t nd u du (3)  |
| 39. Most of our churchgoers do not practice what they preach.  | vt t nd u du (5)  |
| 40. The town council gets very little done.  | vt t nd u du (7)  |

\*The number in parentheses indicates the area to which the statement belongs.

## THE PROCESS OF DECISION-MAKING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION\*

by Paul A. Miller†

### ABSTRACT

A process important in understanding community action is that of decision-making. This paper presents certain theoretical considerations relevant to research in community organization and action. A study of community efforts in the promotion of 218 small hospital projects and case studies of a representative community hospital project in the Southeast and one in the Northeast reveal differences in decision-making processes. The Southeast projects developed more amidst arrangements made through constituted authority; while in the Northeast, community organizational arrangements seemed related to the social psychological components of influence. For the comparisons, use is made of the occupational positions of decision-makers in the projects, the types of sponsoring groups and practices, and the internal structure of the decision-making system of relationships.

### PURPOSES AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

The present paper treats an aspect of a study that has recently engaged the Social Research Service at Michigan State College.<sup>1</sup> Sponsored by the Farm Foundation, this study has aimed to appraise the manner in which contemporary small American communities go about mobilizing their resources toward three major health goals: (1) obtaining a hospital, (2) securing a local health department, and (3) organizing a consumer-sponsored prepayment plan for medical care.

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<sup>1</sup> The following members of the project committee, although not responsible for the content and organization of this paper, must be acknowledged in that the paper is but one by-product of a larger interdisciplinary effort: Charles P. Loomis, Charles R. Hoffer, Duane L. Gibson, J. Allan Beegle, Christopher Sower, David G. Steinicke, and research assistants Wayne C. Rohrer, Joseph H. Locke, and Sheldon G. Lowry. Acknowledgment is also due Professor John Useem, who has repeatedly assisted this writer and other members of the project committee to a growing awareness of the potential efficacy of decision-making as a conceptual framework for the study of community action.

Consultation with officials of national agencies, and a perusal of their filed materials, yielded an original inventory of 618 communities. Beyond the fact that each state was represented, these communities had trading-center towns of not more than 7,500 population, had made substantial progress toward one or more of the above health goals, and community action had occurred since 1940. The inventory listed 282 new general hospitals assisted by funds of the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey and Construction Program, 79 cooperative hospitals, 116 consumer-sponsored prepayment plans, and 141 local health departments.

In addition to an extensive bibliographical analysis and correspondence with community workers in the respective communities, two broad methods have been employed in this study: (1) the development of detailed questionnaires for each of the three categories of communities, to be completed by the respective official sponsoring bodies; and (2) case studies of selected communities representing the different regions.

The selection of hospital cases for field study was made on the basis of the preponderant hospital community type found within each region, the



types having been determined on the basis of four factors: high or low need for a hospital, expressed by the ratio of needed beds to available beds; rurality, as measured by rural-urban population ratios; high or low population in the hospital service area; and size of hospital goal, operationally defined as the money cost of the hospital. For instance, 62 per cent of the cases in the Northeast represented low need for a hospital, were relatively less rural, contained a large population in the service area, and reported relatively high-cost hospitals. In addition to selecting on the basis of preponderant community type and principal fund-raising method used in each region, there was the requirement that the cases represent county-seat towns. For fund-raising, the Southeast<sup>2</sup> used bond issues predominantly; the Middle States, both bond issues and voluntary subscription; the Northeast, professional fund-raising; the Northwest, voluntary subscription; and the Far West, the Hospital District with a governing body to levy taxes. The foregoing may indicate the raw materials available regarding small hospital developments.

#### DECISION-MAKING AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Few areas of sociological endeavor have presented such a variety of theoretical and practical opportunities as that of community organization. The focus of the study, of which this paper represents one aspect, was determined partly by certain impressions gained through bibliographical analysis.<sup>3</sup> Cru-

cial among them were: (1) The functional and structural requisites of communities within a *specific* action context usually are not emphasized. (2) The communities have usually been considered discretely, with little attention to their relationship to larger social or cultural areas, such as the region, state, and nation. [As Julian H. Steward has recently stated, "The Lynds were the first to recognize that one of its (Middletown) principal shortcomings was its failure to relate the town more explicitly and completely to the larger extracommunity society. How to remedy this deficiency in such studies has not yet been resolved: the theoretical and methodological bases for placing any community in its larger setting have yet to be worked out."'] (3) The preoccupation with an individual community, or at best a small number of communities, has tended to prevent sufficient quantitative analysis and has retarded a comparative approach.

Acquiring an expensive hospital is an event of considerable implication for the community. Given people and leaders, community needs and resources, the hospital will not become a reality until some one or some group acts; and to act is to decide. The decisions that result channel the efforts of the people, limit them to specific courses of action, and prescribe certain organizational methods. Accordingly, the general purpose of the parent study was to focus on community action with special reference to the decision-making process, or the deployment of authority and influence in social situations of goal-oriented behavior. The decision-making process, within the context of community organization, refers to three phases: (1) the making of decisions, (2) the manner in which they are given approval and made legitimate, and (3) the execution of the

<sup>2</sup> Odum and Moore's regions, the Northeast, Southeast, Middle States, Far West, Northwest, and Southwest, were employed: cf. Howard W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, *American Regionalism* (New York: Holt, 1938), p. 436.

<sup>3</sup> See the following for one classification of community studies and a supplementary critique: Julian H. Steward, *Area Research: Theory and Practice*, Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 63 (1950).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

decisions in the sense of an allocation and/or manipulation of the means at the disposal of the community.

The making of decisions in an ongoing social process would appear to be the reduction of alternative courses of action to persons or groups by an actor or actors in a decision-making system of relationships.<sup>5</sup> Legitimacy refers to (1) the sanctioned rights of some persons to make decisions, and draws on certain capacities of "rightfulness" possessed by the maker of decisions; and (2) to the approval rendered by certain groups in the community, by certain persons, or by all the people—i.e., referendum.<sup>6</sup> The execution phase simply refers to the organizational and administrative consequences evoked by the decision process, and introduces into the process those to whom the decisions apply.

Four interrelated concepts form the conceptual bulwark for the field studies: (1) position, (2) authority, (3) property, and (4) influence. *Authority* consists of the rights and privileges given certain positions within the for-

mal associational life of the community, with specific reference to incumbency in political and associational office and the positional elements of family, kinship, and status. *Influence* refers to the possession of social property, or combinations of sociologically significant resources and proficiencies. By *resources* is meant the incidence of such capacities as wealth, time, respect, moral rectitude, reciprocal obligations, and access to intra- or extra-community persons and groups of prestige. By *proficiency* is meant the incidence of subject-matter competence, organizational skill, and the abilities to know and manipulate appropriate symbols.<sup>7</sup> Influence, thus, is concerned with social property within the community, and the person who owns portions of this property may be a decision-maker through influence, which may not necessarily be related to his position within the community.

In one sense, a role of influence is a role of authority; but the assumption, as indicated by these definitions, is that the decision-maker of influence must reckon with and direct his activity through the interpersonal system that vests a portion of the community's social property in him. Authority, as used here, is constituted within strict

<sup>5</sup> See Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950): "Since a decision is an effective determination of policy, it involves the total process of bringing about a specified course of action" (p. 74); Robert M. MacIver, *The Web of Government* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947): "Policy-making depends on the assessing of alternatives with a view to translating one of them into action" (p. 9); for the relation of the manipulation of courses of action to the application of force, see Robert M. Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 15 (1950): "Force, again in the sociological sense, means the reduction or limitation or closure or even total elimination of alternatives to the social action of another person or group" (p. 733).

<sup>6</sup> See Robert M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 225, who views legitimacy in decision-making as the justification of authority; M. J. Hillenbrand, *Power and Morals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), who speaks of the "ethical sanction" for authority (pp. 134-191).

<sup>7</sup> See Charles E. Merriam's chapter on "Political Power," in *A Study of Power* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), for a reference to "facility in group combination" (p. 41); Paul Pigors, *Leadership and Domination* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935), in reference to "administration as a function of leadership" (pp. 248-252); Harold D. Lasswell, *The Analysis of Political Behavior* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), who states: "Each public policy calls for two types of intelligence: ideological and technical. By ideological intelligence is meant facts about the thoughts, feelings, and conduct of human beings. Other facts are technical. It makes no difference whether the policy goal is phrased in ideological or technical terms; both kinds of information are involved in any complete consideration of goals or alternatives" (pp. 123-124).

associational limits. Thus, authority does not depend on the social property vested in the person, but on the explicit rights of position or office.

The concept of legitimacy is also useful in describing the socially derived bases of authority and influence. Consideration of how decisions are made legitimate in the community has led to a concern with the relevant formal associations as they relate to the institutionalization of authority, and the informal life of the community as it affects the investment of social property in specific decision-makers. Likewise, the informal organization of the community may provide the means by which decision-makers may reckon with and negotiate with competing centers of authority and influence, and through which strategy is made possible.

The remainder of this paper is devoted to a specific aspect of the decision-making process. The data are for the 218 Hill-Burton hospital communities for which questionnaires were returned. Special attention will be given to 24 communities in the Northeast that returned questionnaires, plus a field study in a western New York community; and to 52 Southeast communities returning questionnaires, plus a field study in the Black Belt region of Alabama.<sup>8</sup> The specific data to be discussed here pertain to the hypothesis that decision-making within the context of community organization may operate at times on a basis of position, and hence subsequent roles of authority; while, at other times, decision-making may take place on a basis of property, or community resources and proficiencies

vested in certain decision-makers of influence. The theoretic interest here is that such differential operations may lead to a dynamic distinction in community types, insofar as community action toward certain major goals is concerned.

#### OCCUPATIONAL POSITION OF DECISION-MAKERS

The questionnaire data on the 218 hospital projects yielded 670 persons named "most active." They are almost entirely male and middle aged, and for the most part they reside in the towns that are the sites for the hospitals. Thirty-four per cent of the 670 "most active" persons are self-employed businessmen; 28 per cent are professionals, including 9 per cent who are medical doctors. Sixteen per cent are employed executives or managers, and 10 per cent are farmers.<sup>10</sup>

Reference to Table 1 will indicate that the Southeast is higher than the Northeast in farmers, civil officials, and professionals among the persons called "most active." The Northeast has a somewhat higher proportion of employed managers and self-employed businessmen. This suggests that the Northeast decision-makers for hospitals are oriented to the town sites of the hospitals, while in the Southeast larger systems are relevant, i.e., the county.

#### SPONSORING GROUPS AND PRACTICES

The following figures and comments for the two regional groups of projects indicate the incidence of sponsorship by constituted agencies of authority,

<sup>8</sup> Case-study checks have assured these nominations to be valid in a decision-making sense.

<sup>10</sup> For an intensive analysis of the occupational characteristics of the "most active" (decision-makers) in these 218 Hill-Burton hospital projects, see Joseph H. Locke, "The Participation of Occupational Groups in Local Efforts to Obtain Hospital Services," M. A. thesis, Michigan State College, 1951.

<sup>8</sup> Field studies, conducted by three- or four-man research teams, have been completed in California, Wyoming, Indiana, New York, and Alabama. Field workers in the Northeast and Southeast communities were John B. Holland, Joseph H. Locke, Wayne C. Rohrer, Benjamin Thompson, and the author.

TABLE 1. OCCUPATION OF PERSONS "MOST ACTIVE" IN SMALL-TOWN HOSPITAL PROJECTS

Occupation	Southeast (N=158)	Northeast (N=75)	All regions (N=670)
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Self-employed businessmen .....	32.3	35.6	34.1
Professionals .....	30.4	24.7	27.9
Employed executives or managers.....	13.9	27.4	15.8
Farm owners or operators.....	9.5	5.5	10.0
Civil officials .....	10.1	2.7	8.2
Nonsupervisory employees .....	3.8	4.1	4.0
All persons .....	100.0	100.0	100.0

i.e., county or municipal governing bodies, and of associated practices. In response to questions about the nature of the official sponsoring group for the hospital projects, eight out of ten Northeast communities reported the boards of previously established small hospitals, while the Southeast reported such groups in five out of ten cases.<sup>11</sup> Four out of ten cases in the Southeast reported municipal or county civil governing bodies as sponsoring groups. Not a single Northeast community reported a civil body as a central sponsoring group.

Four out of ten of the Southeast cases reported that the selection of members of hospital-operating groups was accomplished through appointment by local officials, as compared with less than one in ten of the Northeast cases. Two in ten of the Southeast cases reported that selection was made by election or appointment from community organizations or at community meetings, while about five in ten of the Northeast cases reported selection in this way.

As to ownership of the hospital, 50 per cent of the Southeast hospitals were listed as owned by county or city, 36 per cent by community or memorial associations, and the remainder by

special associations or commissions of county or city. The Northeast had 12 per cent ownership by the county and 88 per cent by community or memorial associations.

In the hospital-getting process itself, it appears that concern with communicating to the community was less in the Southeast than in the Northeast. For example, 21 per cent of the Northeast communities and 54 per cent of the Southeast communities reported the opposition of persons who feared higher taxes, but in meeting this opposition 64 per cent of the Southeast cases reported the use of face-to-face discussion and persuasion, as against 96 per cent of the Northeast group.<sup>12</sup> Significantly, 48 per cent of the Southeast cases utilized "speeches to organized groups," while 79 per cent of the Northeast cases reported using this medium. Although there apparently was a higher incidence of opposition in the Southeast and appeals to the community were used less often, nevertheless almost three-fourths of the Southeast cases were successful after the first attempt or campaign, while but one-half of the Northeast cases were as successful. Only two in ten of the Southeast cases required two

<sup>11</sup> Since the Southeast had fewer hospitals to start with, it is only natural that the board of an existing hospital should appear less often as a sponsoring body.

<sup>12</sup> It is possible that the Northeast respondents were more apt at completing the questionnaires than the Southeast respondents, which may show the latter to a disadvantage in terms of full reporting.



campaigns, as compared with four in ten in the Northeast. One explanation of these differences in the two regional groupings of hospital projects is that, in the Southeast, decision-making operated more frequently within the limits of constituted authority, with less opportunity for recourse to decisions by those whom the decisions affected.

In promoting the hospital, the Northeast used appeals that had a personal content, while the Southeast used more general appeals, such as "Health is a community responsibility," and "A hospital will bring more doctors." Contrast these Southeast examples with the prevalent Northeast appeals that emphasized "community memorials," "fear of family ill health and disaster," "Everybody is helping, why not you?" One slogan used in the Northeast community studied intensively was, "Let the memory of our loved ones be a blessing to the living."

The foregoing suggests the conclusion that building hospitals in the small-town communities of the Northeast calls forth decision-makers who, first of all, occupy less of an authoritative position in the community than do those in the Southeast; secondly, operate in settings that are more organizationally diverse than in the Southeast; and thirdly, devote greater attention than corresponding persons in the Southeast to appealing to the community, although the incidence of opposition is less.

#### CASE STUDY DATA

Six basic procedures or steps were employed: (1) By means of a newspaper-file analysis, a detailed list of the sequence of events was secured and used in constructing a schedule. (2) This schedule was administered to members of the official sponsoring group to secure an accurate descriptive profile of the process. (3) Next, a schedule was constructed, on the ground, to secure data reflecting the

general community setting relevant to the hospital process—beliefs about previous community hospitals, attitudes regarding methods of financing, recommendations to other communities, and the images held by the informants of the roles played by various persons in the hospital project. (4) This schedule was administered to 40-50 informants representing all members of the sponsoring group, finance campaign leaders, rural leaders selected by the local county agent, and heads of relevant organizations. (5) Intensive interviews were conducted with high-ranked decision-makers to discover the specific tactics, strategies, negotiations, and symbols that had been employed. (6) A post-card questionnaire was mailed to a sample of the voters in the hospital service area to elicit attitudes about the process from representatives of the community-at-large.

A major step in the analysis of the case materials has been to develop profiles for each principal decision-maker, which set forth important positional characteristics, and the resources and skills which the community imagery vests in him. Although it is not possible to elaborate on this analytical tool here, following are some summary comments which reflect on the authority-influence differential hypothesis. It should be noted that the Northeast community, located in western New York, has a town-center of 4,800 population; while the Southeast community, located in Alabama, has a town-center of 2,200 people. In these comparisons, reference will be made to the four highest-ranked decision-makers in each case.

In the Northeast community, the four highest-ranked decision-makers were linked together through twenty years of friendship, reciprocal relations and obligations, and experiences together on other community projects. They participated similarly in important community associations. The

imagery of the community held them as "the team"; in more technical terms they form a "symbolic behavioral set." In the Southeast community, no reciprocal ties in the above sense could be found among the four central persons. Indeed, the leading person here was held, by several other decision-makers, to be a man "using the hospital to get into politics," who "always wants to do the telling," and "will see anything he starts through, but is a driver." The leading decision-maker in the Northeast community had the kind of imagery indicated in the following quotations: "anything he is connected with is honorable," "he is the personification of the town," "he knows more about hospitals than the most of us," "he has helped everyone in town," "he wants to always reach a goal, but won't step on you to do it," "he knows how to 'weave' people in." The leading actor in the Southeast had no legendary personality, but the Northeast imagery held the number-one man as legend, i.e., "... when (A) gets nervous, something is going to happen."<sup>13</sup>

In the Northeast community, of the four leading decision-makers, one was a printer having state-wide business, another was a wealthy gentleman-farmer with major contacts in town, another the local banker, and the fourth a wealthy farm-produce broker. In the Southeast community, one was the probate judge, two were big landowners and storekeepers, and the fourth was an oil-company representative in town. In the Northeast community, three of the four decision-makers had major influence in the town itself, and the associations relevant to the hospital process had their locus in the town. In the Southeast community, three of the four persons, through offices held, were county-

oriented. In the Northeast case, the town seemed to be the crucial "community" for decision-making, while the two towns within the Southeast hospital-project area appeared, as it were, to be islands of decision-making, which had to be captured for purposes of votes but were not of crucial importance in an initiating and innovating sense.

In the Northeast community, no one of the four high-ranked decision-makers was a political officeholder or a political leader. In the Southeast community, one was the probate judge, one had recently been defeated for county commissioner, another was a town councilman, and the fourth was a political leader. Opposition in the Northeast community was centered in a few "old pioneer" upper-class families, who used the argument that the hospital project was not sound financially to disguise their inability to compete in contributions with the more wealthy decision-makers. Opposition in the Southeast case centered on the same argument, but it was used as an instrument to further traditional political alignments.<sup>14</sup>

Decision-making in the Southeast community revolved around two structural axes: (1) a vertical hierarchy of authority moving downward from the probate judge, and (2) a county-wide horizontal, informal, political organization operated by a small number of large landowners and storekeepers—this informal organization functioning, in part, through a politically acute

<sup>13</sup> It is assumed that the presence of community legend in regard to personal eccentricities is the beginning, at least, of charisma for the influential person.

<sup>14</sup> An analysis of the votes for the hospital bond issue by "beats" revealed that the opposing leaders (identified as "beat leaders") were associated with beats that voted the bond issue down, and that these same leaders were in opposition to the present political regime.

farm organization.<sup>15</sup> The inner circle of hospital decision-making in this community was made up of a few big landowner-storekeepers and the directors of the farm organization. In the Northeast community, the inner circle of decision-making consisted of four men, linked together by past events, who, through diverse reciprocal obligations and a positive community imagery, controlled the prestige associational life of the town.

Community imagery of the four leading decision-makers in the Southeast community was cast largely in terms of position. The crucial distinction was whether one was "refined and educated" or "narrow and uneducated." Two of the four central decision-makers here were termed "narrow" (had a "narrow streak" in terms of family, kinship, or education) but, nevertheless, were credited with making the hospital project a success. Three of the four in the Northeast community enjoyed a positive imagery of resources and proficiencies—"honor," "success," "vigor," "competence," "friendship," "loyalty," "Christian living." One person in the Northeast was given a negative imagery precisely because, as a banker, he had position but,

according to community imagery, not enough resources to support it.

Finally, the involvement of needed persons in these two hospital projects appeared different. In the Northeast community, the four decision-makers followed their lines of reciprocal obligations and capitalized on the community imagery in community-wide involvements. In the Southeast community, the involvement of needed persons was accomplished largely through positional attachments. For instance, several large landowners appointed to the first hospital committee confessed that they had not personally favored the hospital project (due to its financial magnitude, the threat of heavy taxes, and political alignments), but that their position as an "old Black Belt" family and the need to be "educated and refined" forced them to approve the project publicly (by accepting the committee appointment) because the hospital had a high symbolic value of "being good for the community."

One of the important early decisions in the hospital-getting process is who must be involved for sponsorship. In the Northeast case, two persons secretly developed the idea and, although both were officers of the hospital board of an old hospital, did not report their early negotiations to the board. Instead, they contacted two other persons who refused to go along because of financial pessimism. The tactic employed by the first two decision-makers here was to state that, in the event of community default, they personally would supply the deficit. In the Southeast community, the directors of a farm organization went directly to the probate judge and obtained the appointment to a temporary hospital committee of all the principal large landowners in the county, including the directors of the farm organization.

<sup>15</sup> See V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1949): "The chief figure in the governments of about two-thirds of the counties of Alabama is the probate judge . . . . The probate judge generally is leader of the dominant faction within the county and often becomes the patriarch of the county. In many counties the potency of the probate judge demonstrates itself by a long string of re-elections" (p. 53). See also K. A. Bosworth, *Black Belt County* (University: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1941), who states: "The term [probate judge] derives meaning in part from the statutory duties of the judge, who from the very nature of his office knows intimately the county and its people. It takes added substance from the established pattern of political and governmental leadership, which is facilitated by the law but goes far beyond it" (p. 38).

## CONCLUSIONS

In the present hasty treatment, many necessary aspects of decision-making have not been considered: the decisions, tactics, and strategies employed, form and content of negotiations made by decision-makers, symbols and their manipulation, legitimacy, the execution of decisions, and extra-community influences. However, the tentative conclusion is: to understand decision-making and community action in the Southeast one is forced to veer more toward an inquiry into community structure and subsequent offices of constituted authority; while,

in the Northeast, more attention to the social psychological components of influence is required. Although both sets of decision-makers had strong positional attachments, it appears from both quantitative and qualitative evidence that the Northeast communities functioned, in decision-making, more squarely on a basis of social property, or resources and proficiencies vested in persons of influence; while the Southeast communities were characterized by a structural setting in which positional elements led to roles of authority.

### THE USE OF SCALE ANALYSIS IN A STUDY OF THE DIFFERENTIAL ADOPTION OF HOMEMAKING PRACTICES\*

by *Helen C. Abell*†

## ABSTRACT

To determine whether any consistency or ordered structure underlay the many series of items dealt with in a study of the differential adoption of homemaking practices by rural women, scalogram analysis was applied. The scalogram hypothesis is that the items have an order such that, ideally, persons who answer a given question favorably all have higher ranks (scores) on the scale than persons who answer the same question unfavorably.

Scalogram analysis was attempted with seven different series of homemaking practice items. Acceptable and meaningful scales were obtained with four of the series of items—those which dealt with food knowledge and foods served. From the scalograms, individual scores indicating the degree of adoption of the practices were obtained; and these scores were utilized in further analysis of the sociological characteristics of the respondents. The use of scalogram analysis as a tool in analysis of factual and informational sociological data as well as attitudinal data is strongly indicated.

As a part of the research connected with experimental programs in community development now being carried on by the Department of Rural So-

ciology at Cornell University,<sup>1</sup> considerable time was spent in a study of the sociological factors involved in the differential adoption of various recommended homemaking practices.

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<sup>1</sup> Olaf F. Larson, "Research for Experimental Community Projects in New York," *Rural Sociology*, XV, No. 1 (March, 1950), pp. 67-69.



One of the recurring questions was whether or not any consistency or ordered structure underlay the many series of items which were contained in the data obtained by interviews with homemakers. This was especially pertinent where there was reason to believe that habit was involved, such as in the case of food consumption. Percentage breakdowns sufficed to indicate the extent to which certain practices had been adopted; but this quantification alone did not permit any rank-ordering of the particular homemakers according to the degree to which they had adopted or rejected the practice under consideration.

#### SCALE ANALYSIS: THEORY AND APPLICATION

Prior to the Second World War, Louis Guttman had contributed a series of studies on the logic of measurement and prediction. These were published in a monograph of the Social Science Research Council.<sup>2</sup> During the war the basic principle contained in Guttman's work was expanded theoretically and applied successfully as "scalogram analysis" in the Research Branch, Information and Education Division of the United States War Department.

The Research Branch had been charged with the task of reporting upon the attitudes and morale of the American troops. They found that existing methods for the construction of attitude scales took a great deal of time and were not readily adaptable to the conditions of wartime research. They also found that some more satisfactory method than a simple interpretation of the manifest content of a question was needed for determining how many soldiers held certain opinions. These two

problems, stated by Edward Suchman as "the need for a quick scaling device and the need for a cutting point along such a scale,"<sup>3</sup> led to the development and utilization of scalogram analysis.

As expressed by Stouffer, "The scalogram hypothesis is that the items have an order such that, ideally, persons who answer a given question favorably all have higher ranks on the scale than persons who answer the same question unfavorably. From a respondent's rank or scale score we know exactly which items he endorsed. Thus, ideally, scales derived from scalogram analysis have the property that the responses to the individual items are reproducible from the scale scores."<sup>4</sup>

Basic to this hypothesis is the fact that the items which form a scale of this type have a cumulative property. To illustrate this point, Stouffer uses a very simple hypothetical example accompanied by a simple diagram (a scalogram). It is interesting to note that this example deals with simple factual information (height of a person) rather than with attitude or opinion. This observation was one clue leading to the belief that scale analysis might be successfully applied to data dealing with homemaking practices, most of which were factual or informational rather than attitudinal.

The fact that scale analysis is formal and could be applied to any type of social science data has been pointed out by Suchman, who also suggested that its empirical applicability to other than

<sup>2</sup> Louis Guttman, "The Quantification of a Class of Attributes; a Theory and Method for Scale Construction," in P. Horst et al., *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1941), pp. 319-348.

<sup>3</sup> Edward A. Suchman, *Scale Analysis and the Intensity Component in Attitude and Opinion Research* (Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 9. Reprinted from *Measurement and Prediction* (see footnote 4).

<sup>4</sup> Samuel A. Stouffer et al., *Measurement and Prediction*, Vol. 4: *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II* (Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 9.

attitudes and opinions needs to be investigated.<sup>5</sup>

One example of the successful application of scale analysis in the area of institutionalized discrimination has been produced by Shapiro.<sup>6</sup> He felt that Myrdal's definitions of the "South" were ambiguous—in that geographical, historical, and institutional characteristics were all involved. Shapiro scaled 24 political areas (23 states and the District of Columbia) on six characteristics which referred to institutionalized modes of segregation and discrimination between whites and Negroes. The scale was 99.3 per cent reproducible in ranking the areas from high to low according to the degree of segregation and discrimination. The characteristic indicating the highest degree of institutionalized discrimination in this analysis was the presence of white primary elections; the lowest was actual forced school segregation.

#### APPLICATION TO PRACTICE ADOPTION

Several phases of the data dealing with the differential adoption of homemaking practices seemed, logically, to be matters of degree rather than of kind or type alone. Exploratory scalograms were set up and examined for data dealing with (1) foods and food groups that homemakers felt "should be" included in family meals, (2) knowledge of foods that comprise the "Basic Seven" food groups, (3) "protective foods" that were named in (2), (4) foods and food groups included in a 24-hour menu that had been served to families, (5) use of nine different food preservation methods, (6) types of vegetables included in home gardens, and (7) the adoption of five different homemaking practices in the fields of child rearing, sewing, and food and nutrition.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>6</sup> Gilbert Shapiro, "Myrdal's Definitions of the 'South': a Methodological Note," *American Sociological Review*, XIII, No. 5 (Oct., 1948), pp. 619-621.

This use of scale analysis in the field of knowledge and practices was of an exploratory nature. It was recognized that the "unidimensional universe," as a function of a single variable, was the key concept involved, and the basic requisite of a Guttman-type scale. This concept seemed to offer promise of considerable help in understanding and utilizing the findings of a study of this kind.

One of the chief problems in setting up the scalograms was the determination of categories that would fill the need for meaningful and clearly defined cutting points that would not distort the original data. The first four scalograms—(1), (2), and (3) dealing with food knowledge, and (4) dealing with food service—seemed to have this problem solved in advance. This was due to the fact that the data had all been analyzed on the basis of the presence or absence of one or more foods in each of the seven food groups that are recommended by nutritionists as "basic." Thus, there were seven dichotomous items from which the scale picture was obtained. Likewise for scalograms (5), (6), and (7), each method, type, or practice was handled as a dichotomous item.

Since the prime purpose of scale analysis is to permit a ranking of persons, and since the major purpose of the study was to investigate the sociological characteristics of persons with higher or lower degrees of adoption of practices, it may be stated that acceptable and meaningful scalograms were obtained in the first four attempts listed above, and the other three attempts were relatively unsuccessful. This statement is based on the coefficients of reproducibility obtained, as well as cognizance of the other three criteria for the existence of a scale—the number of answer categories left after combination, the item marginal

frequencies, and the pattern of error.<sup>7</sup> Two of the scaling attempts will be described here, one of which resulted in an acceptable scale and the other did not.

In the analysis of the data on foods served within a 24-hour period, the first step was to rank the food groups from most to least served. The rank order of the seven food groups was the same in both rural areas, with one exception which involved only a reversal of two groups in rank order. Previous analysis had shown that milk and milk products were included in family meals to a greater extent in the area in which a larger proportion of families had dairy cattle. It was not surprising, therefore, to find that this food group had a higher rank order on the scalogram that was prepared for this particular rural area than on the scalogram for the other area. It might be pointed out here that, had this relationship between milk consumption and possession of dairy cattle not been known previously, the difference in the scalograms in the two areas would have indicated the need for further investigation of the data in an attempt to understand the reason for this difference.

Scalograms were then prepared for homemakers in the two rural areas, using the number of food groups served as the rank order. In the first area, a scale with 91.8 per cent reproducibility was found; and in the second, a scale with 94.9 per cent reproducibility.

The fact that the number of Basic Seven food groups served was scalable meant that by knowing just the number itself (i.e., 7 or 6 or 5, etc.) it was

also possible to know—over 90 times out of 100—exactly which of the seven food groups had been served or had been omitted. To illustrate: It was found that 18.6 per cent of the 463 homemakers studied in the first rural area served only five of the Basic Seven food groups. From the scalogram it was found that these five groups (from most to least served) were: (1) bread, flour, and cereals, (2) meat, poultry, fish, and eggs, (3) potatoes, and other fruits and vegetables, (4) butter and fortified margarine, and (5) milk and milk products. The scalogram also clearly indicated that food groups not included were (6) citrus fruit and tomatoes and (7) green and yellow vegetables.<sup>8</sup>

The scalogram made it possible to establish cutting points that ranked homemakers in five mutually exclusive categories that varied from one another in the degree to which the practice of serving some food from all of the seven basic food groups had been adopted. A rank order of:

*one* indicated that (1), (2), and (3) had been included in meals.

*two* indicated that (1), (2), (3), and (4) had been included in meals.

*three* indicated that (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5) had been included in meals.

*four* indicated that (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), and (6) had been included in meals.

<sup>8</sup> It is noted here that the rank order of so-called "protective foods" (numbered above as food groups 3, 5, 6, and 7) shows evidence of a need for even greater emphasis by nutrition educators in making the advantages of these foods better known to homemakers and their families.

<sup>7</sup> These criteria are discussed in detail in Stouffer *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-119. The following formula is used in computing coefficient of reproducibility:

$$\text{Coefficient of reproducibility} = 1 - \frac{\text{Number of errors}}{\text{No. of questions times no. of respondents}}$$

The lower acceptable limit for the coefficient of reproducibility has been placed at about .90. In this study, for the most part, all of the cases (rather than a sample) were utilized in the scale analysis.

five indicated that (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7) had been included in meals.

It was then a simple matter to test the relationship of the number of Basic Seven food groups served with various sociological factors, and so identify characteristics of homemakers who were high, medium, or low in the extent of their adoption of this particular practice.<sup>9</sup>

When efforts were made to scale homemakers in regard to the use of nine different methods of preserving food, acceptable and meaningful scalograms were not obtained. By eliminating two of the methods and combining two other methods into one category, a coefficient of reproducibility of 87.4 per cent was obtained in one rural area and 88.4 per cent in the other area.<sup>10</sup> The coefficients of reproducibility (90 per cent being the minimum acceptable), as well as the presence of blocks of non-scale types, made it obvious that more than one variable was present and that there was no single unidimensional universe. Since level of income, place of residence, age and education of homemaker, and many other variables could be expected to affect the potential adoption of the nine particular food preservation methods that were under consideration, this result was not surprising. Scale analysis in this instance served to reinforce the hypothesis that adoption of various methods of food preservation was related to a complex of factors which needed to be further investigated independently.

Reference may be made to one methodological shortcut in the use of IBM equipment. In an attempt to

determine whether the degree of adoption of five different homemaking practices might be the function of a single tendency toward adoption or rejection of recommended practices, successive breakdowns of the adoption or rejection of these five practices were made on the card-sorting machine. From the thirty-two resulting piles of cards, it was possible swiftly to prepare by hand a type of scalogram<sup>11</sup> essentially similar to that obtained when tabulating equipment was employed.

From this scalogram, errors were easily counted and a coefficient of reproducibility of 85.6 per cent was calculated. Some groupings of non-scale types were found, but it seems reasonable to state that a "quasi-scale" seemed to be present. This implied that further analysis was in order. Such analysis would logically take the form of isolating the groups of non-scale types and investigating for the particular variables with which they might be highly correlated.

This attempt to determine the scalability of several different homemaking practices may be considered analogous to a potential investigation of the existence of a common relationship between the adoption of recommended poultry, dairying, cropping, and other practices. It might well prove profitable to employ scale analysis in such an investigation, with the purpose of determining whether there is a fundamental tendency to adopt or reject recommended farm practices.

From the use of scale analysis in this study of the differential adoption of homemaking practices, it may be concluded that empirical evidence of its value has been offered. The use of this technique as a tool in the analysis of factual and informational data—as well as attitudinal data—is strongly indicated.

<sup>9</sup> The results of this further analysis are presented in: Helen C. Abell, "The Differential Adoption of Homemaking Practices in Four Rural Areas," Ph.D. thesis, Cornell Univ. (Sept., 1951), pp. 183-199.

<sup>10</sup> A random sample of 100 homemakers was used in the preparation of each of these particular scalograms.

<sup>11</sup> This represented an adaptation of the scoring diagram for dichotomies presented as fig. 9, p. 120, Stouffer *et al.*, *op. cit.*



## DISCUSSION

by Lee Coleman†

Miss Abell has made a case for the usefulness of scale analysis in this instance, and she makes a contribution in presenting the case here. As she points out, and as Stouffer and associates stated in *Measurement and Prediction*, scale analysis is presumably applicable to all kinds of data; but up to now almost the only application has been in attitude and opinion research. One non-attitudinal application, which Abell did not mention and which has appeared since the publication of *Measurement and Prediction* and the *American Soldier* series, is that of Schuessler and Strauss in articles published in the *American Sociological Review* in December, 1950, and August, 1951.<sup>1</sup> They used scale analysis in a study of concept learning in children and found it very fruitful in testing the proposition "that concepts grow increasingly complex in a cumulative and consistent fashion." Children's scores on tests of recognition, value, and equivalence of coins were scaled and the resulting scale types were shown to be developmental stages in concept formation concerning money, the attainment of any one stage being dependent upon the prior attainment of the next lower stage.

In selecting from alternative research techniques for a particular job, two important criteria are (1) which technique can one do the most with, and (2) which technique has the most justification in terms of existing theory? An obvious advantage of the scalogram technique in the analysis of nutrition practices is the fact that the score automatically tells which food groups were served as well as how many. The scale analysis also makes it clear that the least-used food groups are served only when the more frequently used foods are also served. In other words, the choice of foods is not random but cumulative. So far as theoretical justification is concerned, Guttman's scale analysis has not yet won complete acceptance but it is now backed up by a considerable body of theory,<sup>2</sup> which is

more than can be said for many methodologies and specific techniques now in use.

It seems to the writer, however, that the use of scale analysis in studying factual-type data, as illustrated here, does not represent as great an advance or solve as many problems as it seems to in the case of attitude studies (if one accepts the premises and principles of the Guttman system). Perhaps this may be, in part, the reason why application in fields other than attitudes has been slow in coming. In the example of a successful scale which Miss Abell gives, there was not as great a need for cutting down the number of items as in the case of attitude data. In fact, all of the data for this scale were obtained from a single question on the schedule. Furthermore, even if scale analysis had not been invented, it is probable that the analyst would have classified the respondents from "high" to "low" on the basis of the number of the food groups each served. In preliminary analysis at Cornell of similar data concerning knowledge of the essential food groups, this plan was followed without benefit of scale analysis. It would also have been possible, by coding and tabulation procedures, to determine that the use of the seven food groups is cumulative rather than random. The principal advantage of scale analysis here, then, seems to be the support which scalogram theory gives to choices that might otherwise have been made intuitively, and perhaps a greater efficiency in some phases of the process. Certainly these are advantages which should not be minimized.

On first thought it seems rather disappointing that the attempt to scale five different homemaking practices resulted in only a "quasi-scale," and some other practice areas did not scale at all. It would greatly simplify the problems of research in this field if the existence of a single tendency toward the adoption or rejection of recommended practices could be demonstrated. But that, of course, is only wishful thinking and not a very realistic hope. It is fairly obvious that the so-called "recommended practices" vary greatly as to the type of motivation and socio-economic status required for their adoption. In the realm of homemaking, for example, some of the "recommended practices" require a

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Schuessler and Anselm Strauss, "A Study of Concept Learning by Scale Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, XV, No. 6 (Dec., 1950); and "Socialization, Logical Reasoning, and Concept Development in the Child," XVI, No. 4 (Aug., 1951).

<sup>2</sup> See *Measurement and Prediction*, chaps. 1-9. For some criticisms of Guttman's scale analysis, see L. Festinger, "The Treatment of Qualitative Data by 'Scale Analysis,'" *Psychological Bulletin*, XLIV, No. 2 (March, 1947), pp. 149-161; L. Guttman, "On Festinger's Evaluation of Scale Analysis," *Psychological Bulletin*, XLIV, No. 5 (Sept.,

1947), pp. 451-465; K. E. Clark and P. H. Kriedt, "An Application of Guttman's New Scaling Techniques to an Attitude Questionnaire," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, VIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), pp. 215-223; A. L. Edwards and F. P. Kilpatrick, "Scale Analysis and the Measurement of Social Attitudes," *Psychometrika*, XIII, No. 2 (June, 1948), pp. 99-114.

considerable investment of money while others depend upon no more than a little initiative and a few simple skills. The practices vary in their applicability according to the stage in the family cycle and the environment in which the home is located. Recommended farm practices vary similarly. The decision to shift from one variety of hybrid corn to another probably requires a different kind and degree of motivation from the decision to embark on a long-range soil conservation program. Practices vary in their applicability and importance to a given farm depending upon what are the dominant and minor enterprises, the size of the operation, and other factors.

A complicating factor in the application of scale analysis to the adoption of farm practices is that many practices do not apply at all to specific farms. For example, a farmer should not be "marked down" for not having terraces if his land is not suitable for terracing, and he could not be expected to follow recommended dairy practices if he does not produce milk. Of course this is a handicap only when it is desired to test the scalability of several different practices. In such a case, however, one would either have to limit the practices to those which apply to every farm, or else eliminate from the analysis the many farmers to whom some of the practices were not applicable.

Despite this limitation, it would be an important advance if, for example, groups of practices applying to specific farm enterprises were shown to be scalable or non-scalable. Or scale analysis might be used to identify the probably more important variables that affect decisions, such as the major types of need satisfied by the various practices and the types of attitude contributing to adoption or rejection. In these problems and operations the data are more attitudinal than factual, and the usefulness of scale analysis should be correspondingly greater. An advantage of scale analysis is that it is useful whether the results are positive or negative—that is, it is just as useful to know that an area is *not* scalable as to know that it is.

In summary, it seems that Miss Abell has called attention to a very important new development in methodology. She has shown its applicability to a relatively simple problem in the study of cultural diffusion, and it seems to hold the promise of even greater usefulness in this and other phases of rural sociological research. In this discussion there has been no attempt to evaluate the fundamental validity of scale analysis theory. It would seem, however, that the evidence suggests tentative acceptance of scale analysis, not as a cure-all, but as a promising methodology which seems to have considerable practical usefulness.

## RESEARCH NOTES

*Edited by Harold F. Kaufman*

### NONAGRICULTURAL INCOME OF FARMERS

*by*

*Edmund deS. Brunner†*

Each new census raises important questions for rural sociologists and agricultural economists. That of 1950 is no exception. This note concerns a new item of data, namely, the number of farmers whose non-agricultural income exceeds the value of agricultural products sold. More than 1,500,000, or almost three farmers in every ten, reported that this was their situation.

The 1950 agricultural census adopted a more rigorous definition of what a farm is than had previously been used. The census authorities estimated that this change may account for as many as 200,000 of the decrease in the number of farms—from six million in 1945 to slightly under 5.4 million in 1950. It is reasonable to suppose that the vast majority of these 200,000 holdings would be those of operators who had more nonagricultural than farm income. With these eliminated in the new census, the proportion in this category, as noted above, seems surprisingly high.

The preliminary occupational data of the 1950 census of population indicate that only 4.44 million persons classified themselves as farm operators, farm managers, or farm foremen. Presumably, about a mil-

lion persons operating farms, as defined by the agricultural census, did not consider themselves farmers—a fact in itself of considerable importance. It might be assumed that these "census farmers" who gave non-farm occupations formed a large proportion of the operators enumerated by the agricultural census as having worked off their farms 100 days or more. This latter group was, in 1950, just over one million.

Thus, those who lived on "farms" but did not consider themselves farmers and those who had worked off their farms 100 days or more both failed by more than 33 per cent to equal the number whose nonagricultural income exceeded the value of products they sold. There must almost certainly be some overlapping. Only cross-tabulation, which is unavailable, could indicate how much.

The proportion of farm operators whose nonagricultural income exceeds farm income varies considerably among the regions, as Table 1 shows. In every census division the proportion of farmers in this group is higher than the proportion who worked off their farms 100 days or more in 1949. This is also true of each state, except for Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, and South Dakota. The differences are not large in the Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and West North Central census divisions, and in some of the states of the Mountain division. They are quite large in the South. The New England and Pacific

TABLE 1. PROPORTION OF FARM OPERATORS WHOSE NONAGRICULTURAL INCOME EXCEEDED THEIR FARM INCOME, AND PROPORTION WHO WORKED OFF THE FARM 100 DAYS OR MORE, BY CENSUS DIVISIONS, 1950

Census Division	Nonagricultural Income Exceeded Farm Income*	Worked Off Farm 100 Days or More*
	<i>Per cent of all farm operators</i>	<i>Per cent of all farm operators</i>
United States .....	28.9	18.9
New England .....	41.7	37.8
Middle Atlantic.....	34.6	33.2
East North Central.....	25.3	23.8
West North Central.....	14.6	13.0
South Atlantic.....	34.7	26.1
East South Central.....	31.8	21.0
West South Central.....	33.0	23.7
Mountain .....	26.5	24.0
Pacific .....	40.7	35.6

\*Computed from the 1950 census, preliminary estimates, Series AC 50-3 N.00.

divisions fall in between. It is possible that in the two middle western divisions and one eastern division there is a considerable degree of correspondence between the off-farm workers and those who received less than half their income from farm sales. It is possible also that some farmers in this area have invested in farms they do not operate and that their income, arising from other sources than sales of their own produce, comes to them as landlords. The order of differences elsewhere, and especially in the South, would seem to preclude this explanation as a major one there. Another possibility is that farmers have invested the profits of the 1940's in securities. *The Nation's Business* recently reported a steady and considerable volume of such investment.

Whatever the explanation, the phenomenon is of social and economic importance. If only seven farmers in ten receive more income from farming than from nonfarming activity, is the political position of the farmers likely to alter? Is this nonfarm income of sufficient importance to serve as a hedge against any depression? In view of the data from the southern region, are these states really as much in need of federal aid to education and other social utilities as is generally believed? Do families that fall in the group under discussion have a different standard of living than farm families wholly or largely dependent upon agricultural income? Do they develop family and societal values different from others? What is the effect of such a condition upon the vocational choices of the children in farm families where farming has become of secondary importance? Have high real estate taxes stimulated investment in securities instead of in land?

Clearly, this phenomenon, evident for the first time in the 1950 census data, calls for research. This is true because, despite a more rigorous definition of a farm, the proportion of farmers employed off their farms 100 days or more has increased from 15.5 per cent to 18.9 per cent between 1940 and 1950.

#### THE USE OF THE OPEN-END INTERVIEW IN FAMILY LIFE STUDY

by

Ruth Hoeftlin†

In a family life survey focusing on preschool children, the author had to develop a method that would quickly establish rapport with each family, that would encourage the parents to talk freely, and yet

would not consume too much of their time. The open-end interview supplemented with certain other techniques was used to meet these needs. This meant that topics were introduced and parents were encouraged to discuss them freely; but if, at the end of the visit, certain information had not been given, then specific questions were asked.

For the purpose at hand other possible methods had the following limitations. In the direct-question type of interview the questions are asked by rote and many times the answers are implied. A mailed questionnaire results in poor returns or, because of misunderstanding the purpose of the study or the lack of interest, the answers may not be what has been requested. The nondirective technique is excellent for specific situations, especially when an arrangement for a series of interviews is possible; however, since the establishment of rapport is essential for full cooperation, the time element is often a handicap.

The procedure used in the study under consideration was as follows:

- (1) A letter to the family was mailed so that it would arrive two or three days in advance of the interview. This letter explained the project and stated the proposed time for the interview. In this particular project, two sponsoring groups helped with the introductions—the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station and the Miami County (Ohio) Mental Hygiene Association. Previously, contacts with key individuals had been made in the selected county.
- (2) Home visits were made between nine and eleven in the morning and one and four in the afternoon to prevent interference with meal preparation.
- (3) After the interviewer introduced herself, she asked if her letter had been received. She also had credentials to present if so requested.
- (4) A few casual comments about the weather, the location of the farm, or a remark about something in the house helped establish rapport.
- (5) Questions on the family data card (number in family, age, sex, education, type of farm, ownership or tenancy, religion, and nationality) were asked. In a few cases where the parents seemed on the defensive, the questions on their education and religion were delayed to the end of the interview. Their confidence was gained by discussing the daily schedule of their preschool child.

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- (6) Topics on the child-rearing schedule were next introduced. The mother was encouraged to talk freely. If she seemed self-conscious, ill at ease, or at a loss where to begin, she was asked rather specific questions. A check was made to see that eventually all questions in the child-rearing area were answered. The question, "What are your child's favorite foods?" often brought forth many comments on his eating habits.
- (7) Questions were asked about sources of child care information and types of information the mother felt were most helpful.
- (8) Items on Sewell's socio-economic status scale (short form) were checked by the interviewer. Specific questions were asked concerning any items which had not been answered earlier in the conference.
- (9) At the close of the interview, any questions the parents had concerning the project or the report to be made on it were answered. Often other points or illustrations of their actual child-rearing practices were disclosed at this time.
- (10) By making the families feel that what they said was so important that the facts should be recorded for accuracy, it was possible to take notes during the interview. At the end of each half-day, after one or more interviews, the brief recorded

notes were reread and more complete statements and comments were added to the record. Two ten-point check lists—one on the observed parent-child relationships, and the other on the general appearance of the home and the willingness of the mother to answer questions—were checked.

An advantage of the open-end interview technique is that, with no rigid order or type of questions to confront the interviewee, free expression on each topic can be encouraged, and often broader and more complete answers can be obtained than if specific questions were asked by rote. Also with the help of the letter of introduction, and with a friendly, interested approach on the part of the interviewer, rapport can be established easily, since the opening remarks can be directed in whatever way will best start each conference.

Although a rather complete picture of the preschool child was obtained by one visit to the home, perhaps a return visit at a later period would give additional information if the busy farm parents were willing. If there were several interviewers, a training period, practice interviews, comparison of results, and a clear understanding of the objectives and goals would be essential to avoid differences due to the personalities of the investigators.



## APPLIED SOCIOLOGY NOTES

Edited by Paul A. Miller

### THE RURAL COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL DISTRICT REORGANIZATION\*

by David E. Lindstrom†

The rapidity of school district reorganization based on the recommendations of county lay survey committees is demonstrated by the changes in Illinois from 1945 to 1951. In this period the number of school districts decreased from approximately 12,000 to 3,653, or by about 70 per cent. The type of school district disappearing most rapidly is that of the single-room school in the open country. The decrease in this type of district during the period 1945-1951 was from 9,679 to 2,482 districts, or a change of 74.5 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

The direction of change in Illinois is toward the community unit district. This provides for twelve grades and is administered by a board of seven members. Since 1945, 246 community unit districts have been organized. These embrace about half the territory of the state.<sup>2</sup>

The procedure for organizing a community unit district by petition of the people provides for the establishment of district lines, which may conform to natural community boundaries. This may not happen when community districts are formed by the action of the county survey committee. The formation of a community unit district requires, before a vote is taken, a petition with at least a hundred signatures. These petitions have their origin in the town-country community. However, the county survey committee may recommend a community unit, which makes a vote mandatory.

The matter of the satisfactory size for community unit districts, called "centralized school" districts in New York State, is a moot question. Rural people, when given a choice, tend more often to prefer the natural rural community than do most educators. The rural sociologist would

probably favor the community unit district rather than the larger size recommended by educators. Data from Illinois are illustrative.

Figures on the size of each of the 246 community unit districts organized in Illinois since 1945 are not yet available. For 242 of them, however, the average area covered is 108.6 square miles, approximately the size of three townships. The average high-school enrollment is 226 and the average elementary enrollment is 646. The median high-school enrollment is in the size group 126 to 150 pupils. Forty-nine districts are in this size group.<sup>3</sup>

A rural community school district providing a high school of 150 or fewer pupils falls considerably short of the standards set up by Dawson, Reeves, and associates, who probably represent the best and most conservative thinking of the educators. Howard A. Dawson states that: "The satisfactory administrative unit should have at least 1,200 pupils between the ages of six and eighteen. If it has a much smaller number it can afford a good program only at great cost per pupil. The more pupils it has up to 10,000 the broader the program it can afford at reasonable costs."<sup>4</sup>

Assuming that there are 1.5 children of school age per average family of 3.9 members in a rural community, Dawson's minimum district would require a total community population of over 3,000 and his optimum one a population of 26,000. Half or more of the Illinois districts are considerably below the minimum in population.

According to studies under the direction of Carl C. Taylor, comparing 114 communities in various parts of the United States, the communities having high or relatively high group consciousness or feeling of belonging on the part of the farmers have trade centers with populations ranging from 1,000 to 3,500.<sup>5</sup> This raises the question whether the educators have set their standards too high.

Careful studies need to be made on: (1) How nearly coincidental are natural community boundaries and the boundaries of

\* Prepared for the Committee on Community School Districts and Community Schools and presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Estes Park, Colo., September 2, 1950.

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<sup>1</sup> David E. Lindstrom, *Illinois School District Boundaries*, RSM-24, Research in Rural Sociology, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Illinois, Agricultural Experiment Station, Urbana, Ill., July, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> Luther J. Black and Samuel M. Bishop, "Numbers and Kinds of Districts." Special tabulation for the State Advisory Commission on School Reorganization, Springfield, Oct. 1, 1951.

<sup>3</sup> Luther J. Black and Samuel M. Bishop in *Progress Report on School Reorganization in Illinois*, State Advisory Commission Report No. 14, Centennial Bldg., Springfield, Ill.

<sup>4</sup> Howard A. Dawson, "Some Major Factors in a Good Public School System" (typed outline from the author), Aug., 1950.

<sup>5</sup> Carl C. Taylor, "Significant Trends in Rural Life" (typed outline from the author), July, 1950.

emerging rural community school districts? (2) What is the relative effectiveness, from a rural education point of view, of districts of the sizes desired or recommended by farmers, by rural sociologists, and by educators?

#### COMPATIBILITY OF EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL CRITERIA IN THE FORMATION OF COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICTS

by J. F. Thaden†

There is a distinct trend for school district reorganization to proceed on the basis of natural or sociological communities rather than on the basis of township or county groupings. Township school districts tend to be generally smaller than community school districts. Also, they commonly have an insufficient valuation and school population to offer courses on the secondary level. The county school district tends to be generally larger than the community school district. Neither the township district nor the county district tends to coincide with natural or sociological communities.

Before school district reorganization can be discussed more fully, however, two questions should be answered: "What is a natural or sociological community?" and "Are sociologists and educators in accord as to the basic essentials of a natural or sociological community?" In order to arrive at a realistic definition of a sociological community, the second question must be considered first. David Lindstrom, in his notes in this issue on "The Rural Community and School District Reorganization," implies that educators and sociologists differ in their conceptions of a desirable school district reorganization, if such outstanding authorities as Howard A. Dawson and Carl C. Taylor are accepted as representative spokesmen for their respective groups. Lindstrom suggests that the rural sociologist probably would favor units of a size desired by rural people "rather than the larger size recommended by educators." To prove his contention he uses Illinois as a test case. In Illinois he found the average size of recently reorganized school districts to be large sociologically, yet small from the educator's viewpoint. According to his reasoning, half or more of the 242 "community unit" school districts—despite their average area of 109 square miles and an average high-school enrollment of 266 pupils—did not meet the minimum requirements suggested by Dawson. At the same time, many of these reorganizations pos-

sibly lacked Taylor's prerequisite of a "high group consciousness, or feeling of belonging on the part of the farmers." One is prompted to appraise the incompatibility, if any, of these alleged viewpoints and to determine "whether the educators have set their standards too high," or whether rural sociologists have set their standards too low.

Despite divergent opinions as to the minimal size community school district, educators and sociologists agree on the primary aim of school district reorganization. This primary objective is improved educational opportunity for all, especially those of school age. Any reorganization that fails to accomplish this result negates the objective. Yet, no doubt there are many factors that neither sociologists nor educators have adequately considered in their plans to enrich educational opportunities. The index of educational need should be a more extensive mosaic than economic efficiency or social cohesiveness. The educator who unduly emphasizes economic factors in school district reorganization has a poor perspective. The school is also a social institution and factors other than per pupil cost, valuation per school-census child, high-school enrollment, and pupil-teacher ratio must be appraised in potential reorganizations. For instance, the element of probable increasing town-country solidarity should be recognized by all persons who are engaged in school district reorganization. On the other hand, as community centers increase in size, there is undoubtedly a point where the affinity of farmers and rural nonfarm dwellers for the nearby townspeople becomes tenuous. This diminishing cognizance of interdependence may cause exceedingly large communities to be slow to reorganize community school districts on a voluntary basis. And when such reorganization is proposed, the rural people in the community might consider the alternative of a single school district of their own. Unfortunately, however, this type of school district reorganization is often sociologically ironic. The farmers north of town may have less in common with those on the south side than they generally have with individuals at the community center.

But the educator is not wholly to blame, for size of high-school enrollment cannot be entirely ignored by the sociologist. "Education is big business" and should adhere to the principles of good business. Just as each institution, shop, and store is dependent, among other factors, upon a minimum number of cases for survival, so, in actual-

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ity, is each school. In the business world thousands of bankruptcies annually bear testimony to the fact that ecological forces are almost as immutable as the forces of gravity. Unfortunately, educators are forced to consider pupil enrollment and per pupil cost because in rural areas sentiment sometimes permits unworthy submarginal schools to operate in defiance of prudence and the free operation of "supply and demand."

Sociologists must also realize that, to a certain point, the cost per pupil diminishes as the size of the school increases. This has been demonstrated many times. After this point has been reached, however, the economy of increasing the number of students diminishes. That a point of diminishing utility is inherent in school reorganization is manifest by the tendency to create a second high school, even a third and a fourth, in cities with increasing size of population. The same trend is observable in rural areas in states where the county school district prevails. Therefore, a single taxing and administrative unit does not necessarily insure a single high school. Proper consideration of this factor by sociologists might eliminate some of their disagreement with educators as to the minimal desirable unit for school district reorganization.

What then should be the high-school enrollment in satisfactory school district reorganization? Educators have submitted certain requirements. For instance, the National Commission on School District Reorganization (of which Howard A. Dawson and Floyd W. Reeves were co-chairmen) concludes that each high school should bring together not fewer than 75 pupils of each age group and a faculty of not fewer than twelve teachers.<sup>1</sup> But such recommendations may not seem entirely practical to some sociologists. Obviously, not all school district reorganizations can meet the commission's stipulations. Sparse population, low mileage of all-weather roads, rugged terrain, dual or multiple-dual school systems (colored and white schools, public and parochial schools) militate against it, if school children are to reside at home rather than in dormitories. More study on this problem must be undertaken for a solution satisfactory to both sociologists and educators.

Another problem bearing on the minimal desirable size of school districts is the relation of "community consciousness, cohe-

sion, or feeling of belonging" to the size of the community center. Carl C. Taylor has suggested that an analysis of data in Dunn and Bradstreet and a compilation of the civic organizations and churches in the area of the proposed school district might serve as major ingredients in an index of community. As a result of his measurements in 114 communities, he finds that community consciousness tends to be higher in communities with trade centers of 1,500 to 6,000 population than in communities with smaller or larger centers.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately, if increasing size tends to decrease "social cohesion," few communities in Illinois have suffered, since only 16 of the 217 "community unit" school districts have population centers of more than 6,000 inhabitants. Also, the formation of "community units" in the 16 communities may have more than replenished the possibly dwindling "social cohesion" associated with increasing size of city. The sociologist or educator should not assume that Taylor's criteria are adequate to determine either the minimums or maximums desirable for a proposed school district. Other possibilities must also be considered.

Although the results of school district reorganization in Illinois do not necessarily prove or disprove Taylor's index of social cohesiveness as a sociological measurement of desirable school district size, these results are of direct interest to the sociologist. The Illinois school district reorganization program gave the people of each county an opportunity to rearrange their school district structure by means of democratic process. In 1945, the Illinois legislature enacted the County Survey Law, providing for the creation of county survey committees to promote more desirable school district reorganization. The county survey committees were composed of nine persons, four representing the urban area and five the rural area, elected by the school-board members of each county. Their task was to make recommendations regarding school district reorganization. The final reorganization, however, rested with the citizenry of each community. Even the legal name for these school district reorganizations, "community units," indicates thinking in terms of sociological groupings.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Address given at Midwest Conference on Rural Life in Education, Lincoln, Neb., March 31, 1949.

<sup>3</sup> In New York similar reorganizations are known as "central school districts," and in Michigan they are called "rural agricultural school districts."

<sup>1</sup> The National Commission on School District Reorganization, *A Key to Better Education*, Department of Rural Education, National Education Association (Washington, D. C., 1947), p. 11.

In addition, the Illinois school district reorganization program revealed statistically the desire of rural people for small groupings. Up to June 30, 1949, a total of 217 school district reorganizations ("community units") had been voted by the people of Illinois under House Bill No. 575. Progress Report No. 13 issued by the Illinois State Advisory Commission contains some pertinent information regarding these reorganizations. Although the average number of high-school students in the 217 reorganizations in Illinois at that time was 214 and the average size of the reorganizations was 111 square miles,<sup>4</sup> the median number of high-school students in the 217 units (all but one had a high school) was 153 and the median size was 91 square miles. Here the median is a better measure of central tendency than the mean, for both medians are substantially smaller than the means.

Also of importance to the sociologist is that the rural population tended to vote in favor of the smaller reorganizations. Of the total of 87,000 rural people in the 217 reorganized school districts who voted on the proposed "community units," 70.5 per cent voted for the proposals, and 29.5 per cent voted against them. But 75.3 per cent of those who resided in the 51 smallest reorganized school districts (under 76 square miles) voted for the reorganizations, while only 66.8 per cent of those who resided in the 51 largest reorganized school districts (133 square miles or more) voted for the reorganizations. This is a difference that is statistically significant, and it appears to substantiate Lindstrom's notion that rural people favor "small" reorganizations to "large" ones. However, certain inconsistencies occurred. In one of the smallest school district reorganizations only 55 per cent of the rural people voted for reorganization, while 95 per cent voted affirmatively in one of the largest school district reorganizations. Perhaps these percentages reflect, in part, differences in the effectiveness of public relations programs and the thoroughness of adult education following the recommendations of the county survey committee.

Even though the sociologist may emphasize the desirability of small-sized school districts, some must of necessity be large. A large number of rural pupils whose educational opportunities could be improved by

school district reorganization live in the service areas of population centers of over 6,000 population, and they are in as great need of the benefits of a cooperative city-country high school as are those who live in the service areas of smaller population centers. It would be folly for the population center and the tributary trade and service area each to have separate high schools. Therefore, in such cases larger school districts must be considered as natural and as inevitable as are small reorganizations around smaller population centers. The situation in Illinois illustrates this point; 16 of the 217 school district reorganizations include towns with more than 6,000 inhabitants.

The attitudes of rural people in regard to the desirable size of community schools are flexible. One trend is noteworthy: increasingly, rural populations favor ever larger school district reorganizations. Recent reorganizations in many states tend to be larger than those of two or three decades ago. For example, in New York State the 65 central school districts that were formed between 1924 and 1930 comprised an average merger of less than six school districts, while the 66 central school districts that were formed in the period 1940 to 1947 comprised an average merger of over 18 school districts.<sup>5</sup> This trend is due, perhaps, to the gradual improvement of roads and the ease of transportation of pupils—a factor which helps to enlarge the rural voters' conceptions of desirable community school districts.

To be considered a natural or sociological community, it would seem that a locality should have certain essential services that satisfy the needs and wants of people. These services are educational, economic, medical, recreational, religious, and social in nature. The writer has suggested that these basic prerequisites can be reduced to six services—namely, a medical doctor, a dentist, a newspaper, a bank, a motion picture theater, and an accredited public high school.<sup>6</sup> Any area with these essential services will satisfy the wants of its population because normally, when a population center possesses these six elements, it is almost certain to have a post office, R. F. D. routes, churches, lodges, filling stations, restaurants, barbershops, garages,

<sup>4</sup>This is slightly larger than the 109 square miles of the 242 reorganizations recorded to date in Illinois, and also slightly larger than the "108 square miles of the 533 high school communities (attendance areas) in Michigan 1929-32." J. F. Thaden, "School Districts of Community Size," *The Nation's Schools*, Vol. XXII, No. 5 (Nov., 1938), p. 21.

<sup>5</sup>*Your School District, the Report of the National Commission on School District Reorganization*, Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association (Washington, D. C., 1948), p. 201.

<sup>6</sup>J. F. Thaden, "What Is a Good Community?" Paper presented at Great Lakes Conference on Rural Life and Education, Ann Arbor, Mich., Nov., 28, 1949.



and other shops, stores, retail establishments, and services that families need regularly. Also, according to this reasoning, should not be recognized as a community center.

To what extent have present school district reorganizations taken place in localities that may be considered natural or sociological communities by these criteria? Of the 217 school district reorganizations effected in Illinois by June 30, 1949, there were about 98 with cities and villages which did not have one or another, or any, of the following services: a newspaper, a movie, a bank, and a medical doctor. Data pertaining to the presence of dentists and whether the high schools were accredited were not tabulated for these communities. Practically all of the deficiencies occurred in places with less than 1,000 inhabitants.

When reorganized school districts are limited to artificial straight lines and alterations of school districts are legally possible only within county boundaries, as in

if a center does not possess these specific services—or at least five of the six—it some states, natural community school districts do not necessarily result. Trade and service areas usually are not respecters of township and county lines, nor generally are high-school attendance areas. Some states have realized this fact and have planned their school district reorganization programs accordingly, while others have not. The variations among the thousands of school district reorganizations in the several states explain why some are more satisfactory than others. However, a great deal can still be done to improve the methods of determining a natural school community. Rural sociologists can contribute to the plans of educators, rural school patrons, and legislators in the formulation of sound principles for the adaptation of the emerging community school district to the emerging community. And sociological research can reveal some rewarding secrets to would-be school district organizers.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Charles E. Lively

*Surveys, Polls, and Samples: Practical Procedures.* By Mildred Parten. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950. Pp. xii + 624. \$5.00.

The objective of this book is to "bring together in convenient form the current procedures used by population surveyors in such fields as marketing, political opinion polling, government census, radio audience measurement, socio-economic assays, as well as in the more academic attempts of the social scientist to evaluate populations by questionnaires and related devices" (p. ix).

The book, remarkably comprehensive in its treatment of the "survey process," is organized in terms of the steps involved in conducting a study, with many examples from various types of academic, governmental, and commercial research. Following an introductory chapter on the history of social surveys and polls (primarily with reference to the United States), there are chapters on planning the procedure, methods of securing information, the role of sampling, and organization and personnel. These are followed by a chapter on instrument construction (happily referring to specialized sources, rather than getting "bogged down" in the complex problem of attitude-scale construction), three on sampling problems, and one on interviewing. A separate chapter considers mail-questionnaire procedures, and a section on sources of bias is followed by chapters on editing, coding, tabulation, evaluation of the data and sample, and preparation of a report.

The focus of the book is upon practical problems and there are frequent lists of "steps to take," or the "advantages and disadvantages" of a particular technique. Many will also find valuable the voluminous bibliography, containing more than eleven hundred references.

As in any volume attempting to cover such a comprehensive subject, there are, of course, weaknesses, most commonly "sins of omission rather than commission." Among the weaknesses of this volume are the two-sentence dismissal of the problem of classifying "open-end" questions (p. 459); the brief treatment of sponsor-researcher relationships; the failure to discuss the practice of substituting for missing cases except to say that it is not recommended (p. 285). In addition, the book

might have been improved through greater use of figures, charts, and diagrams (e.g., in connection with the discussion of graphic presentation). And, it is doubtful whether we need to be told such details as: "An interviewer who appears to be sincere, sober, and healthy is more likely to inspire a positive response than one who looks shifty, intoxicated, or diseased" (p. 339).

Weaknesses such as these do not, however, detract seriously from the mountain of useful information which can be used directly or modified for special situations. Parten does not discuss the development of hypotheses or the relation of theory to research. One must come to the book knowing *what* he wants to do, and it will suggest *how* to do it. It assumes large-scale studies (recommending that surveys be preceded by *pilot studies* of 100 to 200 cases), and one must tailor the suggestions to his own time and budget. Lastly, and of interest to the readers of this journal, little reference is made to the research of rural sociologists. Nevertheless, they will find it a highly useful reference.

As a text, it contains a little too much "methods" for a public opinion course, and a little too much "public opinion" and "surveying" for a general methods course. However, for those offering a special course in *survey methods*, the book should make an excellent text.

DUANE L. GIBSON.

Michigan State College.

*Research Methods In Social Relations—with Especial Reference to Prejudice.* By Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook. Part I: *Basic Processes*; pp. x + 421. Part II: *Selected Techniques*; pp. x + 338. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. Single volume, \$3.75; set, \$6.00.

According to the authors, this work is intended to "bring together on an introductory level the considerations which enter into every step of the research process" (p. v). Special emphasis is given to the problems and methods of action-oriented research which entails close collaboration between social scientists and those primarily concerned with action. Illustrative materials are frequently taken from studies in the field of prejudice, but are not confined to this area.

The reading publics for which Part One is intended include both formal students of social science research methods and other people who are especially interested in applying the products of social science research. It covers the entire range of problems in the social research process, from selection and formulation of problem, through research design, data collection of various types, and analysis and interpretation, to presentation and application. Part Two, which provides greater technical detail on various methodological problems, is designed primarily for the student. The eleven chapters include treatments of questionnaire and interview schedule construction (Arthur Kornhauser), interviewer selection and training (Paul B. Sheatsiey), observational methods in field work (William Foote Whyte) and in small groups (Alvin Zander), mass media content analysis (Donald V. McGranahan), sociometric methods (Charles H. Proctor and Charles P. Loomis), use of a panel (Morris Rosenberg and Wagner Thielens with Paul F. Lazarsfeld), community self-survey (Margot Haas Wormser and Claire Sellitz), sample design (Philip McCarthy), scaling theory and concepts (Samuel A. Stouffer), and certain assumptions involved in statistical analysis (Leon Festinger). The same bibliography and index appear in both volumes.

The development of the work is an interesting example of social interaction and group creativity. Gordon W. Allport, in 1948, suggested that the Committee on Intergroup Relations (of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues) "produce a book on the measurement of prejudice" (p. vi). Three years later, after extensive formal and informal group and individual consideration and action there emerged the present work. Participants in the process include: the eight-member subcommittee which endorsed Allport's idea, and which outlined the scope of the proposed publication; an eleven-man editorial committee (representing SPSSI); the three authors of Part One; the fifteen contributing authors named in Part Two; and several other professional persons named as assisting in various editorial processes. Financial aid was received from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and UNESCO.

Now for a brief evaluation: The reviewer is very favorably impressed with the end product of this elaborate process. He believes this work should receive wide and fruitful use both by those whose method-

ological interests lie in the psycho-social types of research and by those who are primarily interested in the possible applications of social research. In his judgment these volumes represent a happy combination of readability with solid substance all too rare in the literature on research methods.

EDGAR A. SCHULER.

Wayne University.

*The Claims of Sociology: A Critique of Textbooks.* By A. H. Hobbs. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1951. Pp. iv + 185. \$2.75.

Here is something unique, but apparently very much needed. It is a critical analysis of introductory textbooks in general sociology, social problems, and the family—129 of them, published from 1926 through 1945. It does not consist of a space-measuring exercise, nor yet a description and evaluation of concepts used. Rather, the book represents "an attempt to describe the nature of the material which is presented as sociology, and the emphases which are found in the presentation." The author limits his effort to the nine subject-matter categories that include most of the textbook material, and which seem likely to influence the student most. They are: Personality Formation and Motivation, Educational Institutions, Economic Institutions, Governmental Institutions, The Family, Social Controls, Social Disorganization, War, and Social Change. He employs the term "sociological emphasis" to describe the orientation of the subject toward self and society, and examines the presentation techniques by which this emphasis is achieved. Findings are presented in terms of the number of texts exemplifying a particular point of view or emphasis, and often the older texts are compared with the newer ones in such regard.

In making the study, Dr. Hobbs used "definite statements and examples which the authors present" to interpret definitions and conceptualizations to their readers. A few of these quotations from the texts are presented, but usually only Hobbs's summarization appears, a fact that is somewhat exasperating to this reviewer. Although every chapter shows evidence of sound scholarship, the fact remains that the book is chiefly one of generalizations about generalizations. One wishes that the length could have been extended to include many more of the 4,000 excerpts which he assembled.

The findings of this book should interest every sociologist whether he teaches the general introductory course or not. Large numbers of students are being exposed to these texts, and what they contain is presumably of some educational and, therefore, social significance. Author Hobbs finds that environmentalism is stressed virtually to the exclusion of heredity. The capitalism of free enterprise is heavily discounted in favor of government control. Poverty, unemployment, and the underprivileged are stressed to the exclusion of the strides being made toward reducing these difficulties. Personal happiness appears to be the chief goal of family life, with increasing freedom without concomitant responsibility. The master cure for marital, as well as other, difficulties appears to be social science, presumably sociology. The list is long; but space does not permit further citation here.

The study naturally provokes numerous questions concerning sociology as an academic discipline, and as a subdivision of social science. Author Hobbs poses many of them. It appears evident from his review of these texts that sociologists have considerably overreached the limits of science in their zeal to sell the subject in the academic market. The time would now appear to be ripe to temper the sales talk with greater scientific caution. Hobbs suggests that authors and teachers (1) display less zeal to reform society, (2) emphasize that most of sociology is still theoretical and tentative, and (3) devote their efforts to "impartial and nonevaluative description of social organization and social processes."

Questions of deeper import tend to disturb this reviewer. For example, is the persistent effort of sociologists to establish the cultural point of view, in contrast to the biological point of view, gradually leading them into a liaison with Lisenkoism? Have the attempts of sociologists to teach cultural relativity, and to develop attitudes favorable to change, resulted in abandonment of the critical, scientific attitude to the extent that they are helping to validate many undesirable social changes with the doctrine of the superiority of the new? Many of the older sociologists were frankly reformers. In spite of their protests, are modern sociologists also reformers, promoting their causes under the guise of a science that they do not possess? Also, in how much better state would texts in rural sociology emerge from an examination of this sort?

CHARLES E. LIVELY.  
University of Missouri.

*Agrar-Politik.* By Wilhelm Abel. Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1951. Pp. 420. DM. 27.00 (approx. \$7.45).

The author bases his system of rural politics on epistemological, historical, and statistical investigations. He rejects those writers who use the mask of the objective scientist to propagate their own political concepts. As to this, he quotes affirmatively Max Weber. In contrast to Weber, however, he insists on the possibility of making scientifically correct statements about norms of conduct and considers agricultural politics as a threefold science dealing with facts, aims, and means—thus incorporating discussions, which belong to rural sociology and farm management in the United States. His main chapters are on rural population, labor, property, soil, credit, accounting, and production. He regularly includes a survey from the earliest epoch to the newest phenomena, such as Hitler and post-Hitler Germany, Soviet Russia, postwar Eastern Europe, and the United States. As to the United States, he is familiar with reviews, publications of agricultural experiment stations, and especially the writings of Ackerman, Bennet, Carey, Galpin, Gee, Ham, Hamilton, Harris, Hibbard, D. G. Johnson, Pearson, Dubois, Sanderson, Lynn Smith, Taylor, Warren, and Zimmerman. Unfortunately, the author does not include a comparison with the Latin-American development.

Abel is an adversary of extremists on either side, and is best characterized as a man of the middle ground, especially as to the following problems: (1) state interference—dangerous when going too far, but rather inescapable in some special spheres; (2) large estates—not defensible in the form of fiefdom-in-trust, but rather acceptable under some other conditions; (3) lease—horrible when connected with absenteeism (considered one of the essential causes of the rural revolutions in Eastern Europe), but acceptable when actually a form of joint property as in some English districts; (4) rural collectivities—usually not lasting, but permanent only when based on the community of religious or political convictions, as in Zionist Israel; (5) cooperatives—not always able to satisfy every need, but commendable when limited to some special purposes, e. g., the common use of agricultural engines; (6) property right—not tolerable when unrestricted, but acceptable when subjected to legally fixed social obligations of the proprietor. Briefly, the author aims at a synthesis of collectivism and individualism.

The exposition of the viewpoints of adversaries, with the corresponding citations, makes the book even more useful for those, who, like the reviewer, do not agree with all of Abel's ideas.

Aeroboe, Beckmann, Buchenberger, David, Dietze, Goltz, Gruenberg, Meitzen, Oppenheimer, Roscher, Sering, Skalweit, Thaer, Thünen, Wygodzinski, and other German rural economists and sociologists had always been much read outside of Germany. Nazism and the war have interrupted such relations. This book perhaps might serve as a new link, especially if an English translation could be made.

PAUL HONIGSHEIM.

Lewis and Clark College.

*The Sociology of Georg Simmel.* By Kurt Wolff, translator and editor. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950. Pp. lxiv + 445. \$5.50.

A distinctive service has been rendered to sociologists by the translation into English, by Kurt Wolff, of many of the hitherto untranslated works of Georg Simmel. These translations are important not only for the reason that through them one is able to become more familiar with the conceptualizations of this important writer, but also in that they fill a major gap (at least for readers of English only) in the history of sociological theory. The present translation follows the recent translation into English of selected works of Weber and Durkheim. From the now available editions of the writings of these three figures, the English reader is able to make a more personal appraisal, based upon primary sources, of the period in which sociology was turning from the "grand manner" of Comte and Spencer to a phase in which it was beginning to define more precisely its subject matter and to consider methodological problems.

Simmel's concern with the subject matter of sociology, and his attempt to define its viewpoint and method, have guided Wolff in the selection of the writings chosen for translation. Part One of the work is a complete rendition of *Grundfragen der Soziologie*, which was published shortly before Simmel's death. Most of the other portions of the work are taken from *Soziologie, Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*, Simmel's major work. There is a reprint of the now familiar *Die Grossstädte und das Geistesleben*, taken from a translation by Gerth and Mills. The selections, as a whole, are well chosen and satisfy Wolff's

objective of getting before the reader Simmel's major ideas of the subject matter and method of sociology. The effectiveness of the book is facilitated by the fact that Wolff has presented the translations in much the same order as they appear in the works from which they were taken.

There is some concern on the part of the reviewer over the fact that the author has elected to reprint *Die Grossstädte und das Geistesleben*, which is now well known, having been included in several recent compilations of readings in sociology and having become available to English readers as early as 1930, when it appeared in *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* by Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin. One wishes, for example, that Wolff had elected to use this space for presenting some translated portions of *Über soziale Differenzierung*, or some of Simmel's essays in sociology.

The limitation of space does not permit an ample discussion of Simmel's conception of the relevant subject matter of sociology, as distinguished from his conception of the sociological viewpoint. The relevance of his thinking and concern with both of these areas is reflected in the problems which he isolated for discussion in the formulation of his views. One is impressed with the germaneness of his preoccupations for contemporary sociology. His discussion of the nature of the group, of the processes of interaction, conflict, and cohesion, of small groups and the mass; his insight into the effects of participation in different types of social structures for the socialization of the individual; and his discussion of social differentiation are all questions of foremost importance to current sociological theory and research. Though there have been empirical advances since the time Simmel directed his attention to the above problems, an inventory of current research reveals that many of the problems which were of major concern to him are among those to which American sociologists are directing major efforts.

An introductory section of this work provides the reader with a sketch of Simmel's life, the author's evaluation of Simmel's sociological views, the sources from which the translations are taken, Simmel's writings available in English, the literature in English on Simmel, discussions (in English) of Simmel as a sociologist, and Simmel's bibliography. These are all valuable contributions, although one wishes that the estimate of Simmel's views and importance had been done in straight expository manner rather than with frequent interpola-



tions of passages from his works. The story would be less disjunctive, for the major ideas of Simmel are set forth clearly in the succeeding portions of the work—that is, in the translations. The space might well have been used to expand the author's conception of Simmel's significance for the sociology of knowledge.

The criticisms made in the above passages are minor when placed against the larger value the work has. There exists no question of the major contribution made by this translation. It should be especially useful to those concerned with sociological theory and the history of sociology. But those engaged in research on the subjects which Simmel discussed would do well to read (or re-read) what he had to say regarding them.

G. FRANKLIN EDWARDS.

Howard University.

*Manpower Resources and Utilization.* By A. J. Jaffe and Charles D. Stewart. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1951. Pp. xii + 532. \$6.50.

The basic theme of this volume is that the transition from a primary subsistence economy to a market economy results in the demarcation of a working force from the rest of the general population of a society. Labeling this process as industrialization, the authors point out that in a pre-industrialized society practically all persons work; however, in an industrialized society, with its market economy, only a segment of the total population works. Since all elements of a culture are so highly related, these changes in the working force and economy bring concomitant and drastic changes in all aspects of the culture. The present defense effort in the United States has accentuated the problems of manpower resources and utilization but has not developed any new problems involving study of the working force. Yet, mobilization coupled with policies aimed at changing the basic economy of the backward nations of the world creates an interest in, and a need for, greater insight in labor force analysis.

With this theoretical background, Jaffe and Stewart have written *Manpower Resources and Utilization*. The volume is divided into three parts. The first carefully examines the nature of the working force and explains why the currently employed definition has been adopted. This information is basic to understanding the statistics collected by the Bureau of the Census. The second portion presents a statistical de-

scription of the working force of the United States today and in the past. The third section gives an analysis of the relationship between the working force and the technological, demographic, and social factors of society.

Rural sociologists will be interested in the integrated formulation of population theory, which has significance both for highly developed and underdeveloped economic systems. In attempting to show how the working force is related to economic and social development, the authors present a theory of economic and social change which might serve as a basis for a systematic theory of rural sociology. In any event, the rural sociologist should find the book unusually stimulating.

With trends in American life toward suburbanization, part-time farming, and corporation farms in many areas, we may predict an increase in the division of labor in rural societies and the demarcation of a modern labor force. These trends, with the gradual disappearance of the self-sufficient family farm from the American scene, make it imperative that rural sociologists develop a thorough knowledge of labor force concepts and analysis. No work published to date is better adapted to serving this purpose than *Manpower Resources and Utilization*. The volume is also suitable as a text for courses oriented toward social change and labor force analysis.

JOHN C. BELCHER.

Oklahoma Agricultural  
and Mechanical College.

*Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma.* By Robert C. Cook. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1951. Pp. viii + 380. \$4.50.

This book, by the editor of the *Journal of Heredity*, constitutes a plea for "action now" to insure an intelligent control of human fertility. The central theme is that man's modern powers over life and death have upset the genetic balance of nature and dimmed the prospect of an equilibrium between resources and population. The nations of Western civilization, according to Mr. Cook, are in the process of genetic deterioration by the failure of the more intelligent citizens to have as many children, relatively, as the less intelligent; and an inevitable "cultural blackout" is foreseen by the author unless prompt remedial action is taken by the societies concerned.

On the other hand, major areas of the globe find their total populations out-



stripping the means of subsistence, with a consequent impairment of living conditions. Effective work in death control—resulting in accelerated rates of population increase—is being done in crisis areas, like Japan and Puerto Rico, where the future welfare of the people is more dependent upon a reduction of births than upon a reduction of deaths. Mr. Cook cites many circumstances which in the past have caused governments to sidestep the problem of fertility control. He believes, nonetheless, that the people would take matters into their own hands if only they were made sufficiently aware of the situation. The experience of Ireland is cited as a case in point.

*Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma* is a collateral relative, at least, of previous works by Burch, Vogt, and Fairfield Osborn. As such, it is of the "alarmist" school. Although Mr. Cook's statements generally have at least an element of truth in them, this reviewer has a number of reservations. The main criticism is that much about which little is known is presented without sufficient qualification. Particularly difficult to prove, at a time when large reservoirs of people have not yet been exposed to favorable environmental conditions, is the thesis of serious and imminent genetic damage to the population as a consequence of present fertility patterns.

This is a "message" book designed for popular sale. This reviewer found it very readable. Its theories, right or wrong, deserve to be more widely discussed than they probably will be. There is an introduction by Julian Huxley.

WILSON H. GRABILL.

U. S. Bureau of the Census.

*Plantation County.* By Morton Rubin. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951. Pp. xxiv + 235. \$3.50.

The first in a series of studies of the modern culture of the South sponsored by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina, *Plantation County* is an analysis of a segment of the Black Belt made by a social anthropologist. Following an introduction describing the purpose and scope of the study and his entrance to the field, Dr. Rubin analyzes the more important aspects of the culture of the area: the economics of plantation operation, the changing plantation, the place of the small farmer in the culture, the beginning of industrialization in the county, Negro-white interaction, Negro

and white social stratification, the church and the belief system, adolescence, adulthood and old age, and the configuration of the total culture. The theoretical frame of reference that guided the study, and a well-rounded bibliography complete the presentation.

Dr. Rubin used a modified culture-structure-function approach. The techniques of gathering data included interviews, participation in social gatherings of all kinds, the use of camera and wire recorder, the systematic taking of notes, checking and re-checking of impressions—in general, the techniques that any capable modern social anthropologist uses in studying a culture.

Dr. Rubin has done a competent piece of work and has presented it in an objective and interesting style. Much of *Plantation County* is similar to the better sociological studies of plantation areas—the accurate description of the physical scene, of the plantation system, of the patterns of stratification, and of the emergence of industrialization and diversification as factors affecting the economy of the area. To a greater extent than in most sociological studies, the materials are integrated in a theoretical framework, so that the reader is constantly aware of what is being studied and why. Some aspects of community life not ordinarily fully discussed by sociologists—Negro-white interaction, the church and the belief system, and the aging processes—are dealt with. On the other hand, the picture is incomplete. The demographic component, identified by Rubin as part of the situation to which adjustments must be made, is inadequately presented; the tenure system, related to both the economic and power patterns, is barely touched upon. Finally, although we would not force the statistical method on the social anthropologist, it should at least be said that its use would lend authority and credence to the author's statements.

JULIEN R. TATUM.

University of Mississippi.

*Making Good Communities Better.* By Irwin T. Sanders. Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1950. Pp. vii + 174. \$2.00.

The thesis of this excellent book is best stated in the author's own words: "The general tone of this handbook will impress you as being matter-of-fact. It has no axes to grind, no great inspiration to instill . . . What you need is some guide that will tell you where to take hold, how to do a bet-

ter job. This book has no other purpose."

In organization as well as content this purpose is admirably served. Five main sections, titled "What Makes a Good Community," "But Communities Differ," "Promoting a Program or Project," "A Better Community through Better Organizations," and "Your Philosophy of Community Service," are followed by twenty-one so-called "guidepost" articles, each by a specialized technician in his field. These contain practical pointers on such pertinent subjects as determining boundaries, getting facts about the people, serving your community, understanding and dealing with local conflict, mobilizing community resources, how to organize a community council, and how to conduct a community meeting. About the only subject this reviewer found missing was that pertaining to the financing of community programs or projects.

As a practical book of applied sociology this book is tops in its field. Amid the welter of "community" literature, ranging from the Utopian to the mundane, Dr. Sanders has brought a fresh approach—that of translating sociological principles into social action; of reducing ivory-tower concepts to a down-to-earth level; and educating the organizational leader to the necessity of transmuting inspiration into perspiration. Moreover, he has accomplished this without sacrificing scientific validity or in the least impairing the prestige of the social sciences.

It is gratifying to hear that, in its first year, the demand for this book has already exceeded expectations. All of the evidence indicates that most of the copies are going to desks for use, instead of to shelves for obsolescence.

RALPH R. NICHOLS.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Regionalism in America.* Edited by Merrill Jensen. Foreword by Felix Frankfurter. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1951. Pp. xvi + 425. \$6.50.

The volume consists of a series of papers presented at a symposium on American regionalism under the sponsorship of Wisconsin University's Committee on the Study of American Civilization. The papers are grouped under five major themes. Part I contains two papers on the historical origin and evolution of the concept of regionalism in this country, and an analysis of its utility in social research. Part II investigates three cases of historic regional development: the South, the Spanish Southwest, and the Pacific Northwest. Part III gives

an analysis of regionalism as a factor in some aspects of American culture: literature, painting, architecture, and language. Part IV treats of regionalism as a practical force. It includes papers on the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Great Lakes Cutover Regions, and the Great Plains-Missouri Valley Region. Part V presents contrasting sociological views on the limitations and promise of regionalism.

The title, *Regionalism in America*, is a fortunate selection, for this is not a systematic treatise on American regionalism. It gives no unified frame of reference for the interpretation of regional developments. The concept of regionalism is used in varying senses by the several authors. No attempt is made to arrive at a definition by consensus. Such were not the objectives of the project. The collection of papers performs the function of providing a digest of views by leading specialists on several crucial aspects of this important topic.

Like all such symposia, the book suffers from unevenness of presentation because of diversity of interest and specialized viewpoint. Doubtless, however, the historian and the historically minded sociologist will find much of interest in the book. One weakness is the selection of regions for specific historical study. The examination of the South, the Spanish Southwest, and the Pacific Northwest as representative samples of American regionalism may give the uninitiated the impression that regionalism is a peripheral factor in the development of American civilization. Some criteria of functional importance, rather than time, might have improved the selection of cases for symposium publication.

The sociologist will find a convenient summary of the applications of the regional concept as a research instrument in the article by Rupert B. Vance. He will probably be most interested in the concluding section of the book which features the appraisals of regionalism by Louis Wirth and Howard W. Odum—the former emphasizing the limitations of the concept as hypothesis, instrument of social engineering, state of mind, or social movement; the latter espousing regionalism as a means of avoiding mass standardization and effecting a wider and more genuine type of social integration.

Interesting though the various facets of regionalism may be, as presented in this book, the product of this enterprise points up the need for a systematic theoretical analysis of regionalism in American society.

LAWRENCE L. BOURGEOIS.

Loyola University of the South.

*Migration Within Ohio, 1935-40: A Study in the Re-Distribution of Population.* By Warren S. Thompson. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 1951. Pp. ix + 227. \$2.00 (paper).

This monograph represents an analysis of the data on migration within Ohio, as collected in the Sixteenth Census of the United States, for the period 1935 to 1940. The report for Ohio is the result of an agreement between the Scripps Foundation and the Bureau of the Census to the effect that the Bureau would make the tabulations and the Scripps Foundation would prepare the monograph.

The work on the Ohio report demonstrated the value of the information and the need for its development for all the states; consequently, an effort was made to save the census data for analysis. (Due to the war, the Census Bureau had not analyzed the material and they were about to destroy it, because of the pressure of preparing for the next census.) Tabulations of the data have since been made available to each of the states by the Scripps Foundation.

The detailed nature of the information precludes complete discussion here; however, it is of value to note the framework of the monograph. The volume is divided into four sections: Introduction; Part I, Streams of Migration; Part II, Characteristics of Intra-State Migrants; and Appendix.

Part I discusses the movement of population within metropolitan subregions, between metropolitan subregions, within non-metropolitan subregions, between non-metropolitan subregions, from metropolitan to non-metropolitan subregions, and from non-metropolitan to metropolitan subregions.

Part II considers sex, age, marital status, education, employment, and income of migrants within the classifications of Part I.

The analysis of these data is well illustrated with demographic graphs and maps, and all basic data are set forth in 145 tables in the text and nine in the appendix.

It is to be noted that the subregions used by Thompson are those delineated by the late O. E. Baker. These subregions are not synonymous with those adopted by the Bureau of the Census in 1950, and the research worker should be aware that they are not comparable.

The author explains that this publication deals only with streams of population within the state of Ohio. The excellent presentation of this information suggests to the reader the importance of a discussion of

the impact of population movements between Ohio and other states, to complete the picture.

This work should be of special interest to all those developing the migration data of the 1940 census and will be found to present a useful model for other states.

WADE H. ANDREWS.

Ohio State University.

*Reader in Urban Sociology.* Edited by Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951. Pp. x + 714. \$5.50.

For purposes of instruction, there has long been a need for a volume of selected readings in urban sociology. Paul K. Hatt, of Northwestern University, and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., of the University of Chicago, have very capably filled this need.

The fifty-seven readings, taken for the most part unabridged from journal articles and chapters of books, are divided into nine sections. Beginning with introductory selections on the nature of the city, the volume covers various historical aspects of urban settlement; demographic and ecological patterns and processes; problems of status, institutions, and personality in city life; and finally, contemporary urban problems and trends.

A few of the articles report on hitherto unpublished research; however, the bulk of the volume is taken from the writings of prominent authors in sociology and related disciplines. Among the authors represented are Pirenne, Simmel, Park, Mumford, McKenzie, Schlesinger, Burgess, Wirth, Hauser, Firey, Gosnell, Notestein, Warner, and James S. Plant. These names suggest the scope of the volume and the general merit of the selections.

Considering the enormous fund of relevant material, the authors have done an excellent job of selection and organization. A few articles seem of rather limited interest, but, on the whole, the readings are significant and pertinent and they evidence the best in social thought and research on urban life. Well-written introductions to each section place the articles in perspective, citing their relevance to major problems of the field. The emphasis, both in the introductions and articles, is on "urbanism as a way of life" rather than on the city as a geographical area of sociological interest.

The readings should serve as a most valuable accompanying volume to any course which focuses upon the distinctive

patterns, processes, and problems of contemporary urban life.

FREDERICK ELKIN.

University of Missouri.

*Cities in Evolution.* New and revised edition. By Patrick Geddes. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. xxxi + 241. \$3.75.

The book under review is not new, about two-thirds of it having appeared between boards originally in 1915, and the balance nearly as long ago. Even so, the appearance of the present volume will be welcomed by architects, town planners, and students of urban development; for the materials—still interesting, suggestive, and valuable—have long been out of print, while the author remains the acknowledged master of the outstanding town planners of today.

The present volume includes all of the original edition of *Cities in Evolution*, except material that was of interest only to readers of three decades ago. There is included also a selection of about forty documents from the second Geddes exhibition of some 5000 items (assembled after the first exhibition was sunk by the Emden in 1914); an exposition of the "diagrams" Geddes employed to illustrate the relation between man's "out-world" and his "in-world"; his final Dundee lecture, wherein he told how a botanist views the world; a brief biography; and a transcript of a lecture in which Geddes describes the impact of man's occupational experience upon his behavior.

Geddes continued, and improved upon, the regionalistic approaches developed by Le Play. Geddes directed his attention, however, to the city groups that he defined as "conurbations," and to the relations that exist between people, their work, and the place in which they live. While he emphasized the ill effects of centralization, he looked upon this tendency as but a concomitant of the "Paleotechnic era," the term he applied to the crude beginning period of the Industrial Revolution. The Paleotechnic era was giving way, however, to the "Neotechnic era" which, given appropriate conditions, would witness the conversion of man's living places into sources of health, well-being, and beauty. Realization of the appropriate conditions required that the city be ideally conceived and that this conception be materialized through city planning. Geddes then went on to show how the city might be studied and eventually made to conform, in its development, to a preconceived plan.

Geddes' famous exhibition was put together to show men how cities had been organized and how they might and ought to be organized in the future. The items here presented include several valley maps intended to show the relation of town to country, the layouts of medieval and renaissance cities and several great capitals, and, finally, plans for garden cities.

While Geddes' name has been forgotten by many, his great influence is manifested in the work of contemporary city planners, in the writings of Lewis Mumford, Howard Odum, and others, and in the continuing effort of man to make the city attractive and expressive of the technological revolution under way. It will, of course, take the drive of many a Geddes to bring his dreams to full fruition.

J. J. SPENGLER.

Duke University.

*Industrialization and Labor: Social Aspects of Economic Development.* By Wilbert E. Moore. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1951. Pp. xx + 410. \$5.00.

The Western world is facing today the question of whether, how, and to what extent it should make positive efforts to promote industry in underdeveloped countries. Elevation of living standards for political as well as humanitarian ends seems well on the way to superseding the centuries-old mercantilist view that underdeveloped countries should primarily serve the purpose of furnishing raw materials for the industry and trade of industrial countries. This shift in current perspective makes *Industrialization and Labor* timely as well as scholarly.

The author is concerned with the laborers who serve incipient industry. His documentation is largely from the work of anthropologists and sociologists; economists and historians seem to have been concerned largely with other aspects of the industrializing process when giving attention to underdeveloped countries. More recently the attention of the International Labor Organization has begun to remedy the situation of data paucity with which the author had to contend.

Moore analyzes the nature of the laborers' resistance to the discipline of authority and time clock in the factory. He examines the barriers of "ignorance of alternatives and the skills for their adoption," of the "security-system, both emotional and economic, provided by the social structure of non-industrial societies"; the substitu-



tion of rewards for performance of specific subdivided tasks, for those of a status system; the handicraftsman's fear of loss of freedom, and the rewards of traditional skills. He points out that trade unions in Mexico have appeared as a practicable means of blurring the "usual sharp distinctions between village security and factory insecurity."

Moore examines available literature on the attitudes and behavior of more primitive and underdeveloped peoples under the impact of industrialization; also, the theories of industrialists, economists, and governments during past periods of colonial development. This is the most interesting and valuable part of his study. Special field investigations were made in Mexico by the scheduled-interview method. While the results have interest, one wonders if another method of studying the problem might not have yielded even more valuable results.

The book is thoughtful and important; perhaps its best result may be in the fresh studies it may stimulate.

PAUL S. TAYLOR.

University of California.

*American Urban Communities.* By Wilbur C. Hallenbeck. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951. Pp. xi + 617. \$6.00.

This book was written primarily for those who want to get a general comprehensive view of what cities are like. It is not intended for the specialist or the advanced student of cities. It is comprehensive in coverage, well documented, and replete with implications and suggestions for urban-rural planning.

Rural sociologists will be quick to note that the American city is viewed as the nucleus of the urban-rural community, much as they view American agricultural villages as centers of "rurban" communities. Hallenbeck's organismic explanation of urban-rural relations and his supporting concepts of "climax condition," "dynamic equilibrium," and "biological potential" represent something of an innovation in the treatment of rural-urban relations. Flow of energy and material is viewed as a significant urban-rural integrating factor, the analysis of which is recommended as a "powerful device" not only for understanding conditions and processes in the urban-rural configuration, but also for determining what could be done by skillful intervention in the future. The ramifications and implications of such an approach are discussed at considerable length and should attract the thoughtful consideration of students of rural-urban relations.

City responsibility for initiative in urban regional planning, together with new forms of social, economic, and political organization, is urged as a means of preserving, refining, and extending advantages of both rural and urban life to all members of the urban-rural community, and for discarding disadvantages for all. Sociologists are urged to develop techniques which may be employed in moving in the "direction that men may learn to want to go."

HERBERT F. LIONBERGER.

University of Missouri.

*The Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish-American Village in New Mexico.* By Olen E. Leonard. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1948. Pp. xii + 154. \$2.00.

In the words of the author of this study, it is "an attempt to determine the influence of the Spanish and Mexican land grants upon social organization and social processes of the people in a rural, Spanish-American village of northern New Mexico." But it is much more than that. It is also an excellent description and analysis of life in such a village. As such it deals with the ownership and the use of the land, techniques of agriculture, health and medical facilities, recreation and amusement, religion and the church, social participation, marriage and the family, education, politics, and levels of living.

The village with which the study deals is El Cerrito, located in San Miguel County. The name of the village will be familiar to most rural sociologists because it is one of the six communities studied by staff members of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, in 1939. The reports on all six of the communities were subsequently published under the title *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community*. The study here reviewed, however, is an independent piece of work, and emphasizes the role of the land grant in the life of the community rather than the life of the community itself.

After giving a short history of the land grant in New Mexico, the author briefly discusses the land grant in its relation to settlement patterns, land division, land tenure, and size of holdings in El Cerrito. He then goes on to a detailed discussion of land grants as a conditioning factor in the social organization and the social processes of the village. Their influence on various

social processes, social institutions, migration, and social mobility is considered.

Because it touches on the role of the land grant, a subject which has not previously been studied in detail, this report is an important contribution to the growing volume of literature dealing with the Spanish-American culture area in the Southwest. Out of the study should come more than an understanding of the role which the land grant has played in the development of the social organization of many Spanish-American communities in this country. The report also shows how some of the problems which face the inhabitants of these communities have come about, owing to the fact that, with the occupation of New Mexico by the United States, an entirely new land system based on definite titles, surveys, and boundaries was superimposed on the old systems based on land grants to towns or communities.

SIGURD JOHANSEN.

New Mexico College of  
Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

*Area Studies: With Special Reference to Their Implications for Research in the Social Sciences.* (Pamphlet Number 3.) By Robert B. Hall. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947. Pp. 90. \$1.00.

*Area Research and Training: A Conference Report on the Study of World Areas.* (Pamphlet Number 6.) By Charles Wagley. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948. Pp. 58. \$0.75.

Hall's pamphlet reports data from a survey of 114 undergraduate and graduate area-study programs and projects (including some which dealt with American civilization, or regions of the United States) that were operating, or planned, as of the fall term, 1946/47. Wagley's pamphlet reports a 1947 national conference on the study of world areas, in which separate panels considered Latin America, the Soviet Union, Southeast Asia and India, the Near East, Europe, and the Far East.

Centers of area concentration in university teaching and research have continued to develop since 1947, but conclusions offered in these two pamphlets deserve reiteration. There is disparagement of programs that are merely a listing of pre-existing courses offered in several departments, or that fall under domination of one or two departments. Standards proposed involve a genuine labor of integration, involving balanced representation of the social sciences, relevant languages, and where

possible, natural sciences. The approved emphasis in undergraduate programs is on liberal education rather than on professional training, and in graduate programs on "final training being completed in a functional discipline after acquisition of a sound basis in the area." Hall's pamphlet urges development of a national program of area studies involving several major institutions and providing complete world coverage.

Area research provides an important occasion for interdisciplinary research, and, by yielding comparative data, it promotes universalization of social sciences. As to graduate training (Wagley, p. 50), nothing higher than an intermediate degree or comparable recognition should be granted, leaving the Ph.D. degree for accomplishment in a functional discipline. For area studies degrees, appropriate language competence and, normally, some actual field residence in the area should be required.

HOWARD W. BEERS.

University of Kentucky.

*The Illinois Military Tract: A Study on Land Occupation, Utilization and Tenure.* By Theodore L. Carlson. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XXXII, No. 2. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951. Pp. vii + 218. \$2.50 (paper), \$3.50 (cloth).

This monograph was submitted to the faculty of the Graduate College, University of Illinois, in partial fulfillment of requirements for the doctorate in economics. The primary object was to study the occupation, land use, and development of tenancy in the Illinois Military Tract. This tract was set aside by the Congressional Act of May, 1812, and subsequent amendments, to provide soldiers of the War of 1812 with land that was suitable for cultivation. The area comprises approximately 5,360,000 acres covering all of 207 townships and parts of 91 others, located in 14 western Illinois counties between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers.

The author has brought together—from early newspaper accounts, county legal records and histories, and later writings—an excellent and well-documented study that should prove extremely valuable to rural sociologists and agricultural economists. Rural sociologists will be particularly interested in the development of early settlement patterns and the effect of transportation facilities on the location of villages and towns. For those who are interested in soil conservation and cropping practices there are excellent discussions of the early atti-

tudes and beliefs about the inexhaustibility of the rich prairie soils. Many of these persist to the present day.

The study consists of nine chapters, a bibliography, and an index. The first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the legal basis for the creation of the Military Tract and the philosophy of granting of bounty lands to soldiers. Chapter two deals with the geographic and physical features of the area. The early settlements between 1820 and 1830 provide the subject matter for chapter three. Chapter four is a very interesting discussion of speculation, and the conflicts between speculators and land settlers in the Military Tract. The growth and development of the area during the period 1830 to 1850, and from the latter date to 1870 are discussed in chapters five and six. Development of the railroads through the Military Tract, and the effect of this on settlement in villages and towns and on farms, is of particular interest to the rural sociologist. The period 1830 to 1850 was characterized by the experimental development of Utopian societies. Probably the most successful of these was Bishop Hill in Henry County. Here settled Eric Janson, a Swede, and about four hundred immigrants in search of religious freedom. Bishop Hill also prospered as a form of agricultural communism. The author attributes subsequent large-scale immigration from Sweden into Henry and surrounding counties to the early success of Bishop Hill.

Chapter seven treats the development of the major type of farming practiced in the Military Tract. Chapter eight is devoted to a discussion of the depression following the Civil War, and the conflict between the farmers and railroad interests. Of particular interest is the development of farmers' organizations and their success in combating the monopolistic practices and rate discriminations of the railroads. The final chapter discusses the development of farm tenancy as a means for operating land in the Military Tract. The author shows that tenancy, squatters, and land speculation were closely related and mutually sustaining.

As a supplementary reading source for many perplexing agricultural problems of the present, teachers will find this contribution valuable in giving students historical insight into the topics covered.

CLINTON L. FOLSE.

University of Illinois.

*The Progress of Cooperatives, with Aids for Teachers.* By C. Maurice Wieting. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. Pp. xiv + 210. \$3.00.

The author, vice-president and director of organization for the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation, wrote *How to Teach Consumers' Cooperation* (1942). This new book encompasses marketing and farm purchasing cooperatives as well. Part I, "Extent and Importance of Cooperatives," gives a brief explanation and account of their growth. Part II deals with "Cooperatives and Education." The heart of the book is Part III, "Suggestions for Teaching about Cooperatives in the Schools." There is a summary at the end of each chapter.

The book's greatest appeal will be to public school teachers of courses about cooperatives, and to college instructors who prepare such teachers. It will be used also by cooperatives in their own educational activities. Readers of this journal may be most interested in the appendices, such as the course outline, the annotated bibliography, and the list of films on cooperatives.

Its condensation and simplicity of statement, the book's strength, will be considered a shortcoming by some readers. Those looking for a detailed, critical analysis of cooperatives will not find it here.

Reports of new practices, and cooperative data as recent as for the year 1951, enhance the book's value. The author incorporates results of several late studies, such as the Farm Credit Administration's 1950 survey of educational practices among farmer cooperatives.

Instead of a separate cooperatives course in public schools, the author recommends that instruction be fitted into the existing curriculum, and shows ways in which it can be done. Case studies of school cooperatives in Winnetka, Illinois, Harlan County, Kentucky, and elsewhere illustrate learning-by-doing. Ambitious cooperative projects undertaken by FFA chapters are described.

As an up-to-date treatment of the national and world cooperative movements, the book is an ample resource. For their own regions, however, most teachers will need to gather supplementary information. An example of a misleading datum is the statement on page 23 about the close relationships of the Farmers Union Central Exchange with the Minnesota Farmers Union. Actually, the exchange, despite its location in St. Paul, receives as little as 13 per cent of its business from Minnesota cooperatives.

and receives more support (in orders) from North Dakota, Wisconsin, Montana, and South Dakota than from Minnesota. It also supplies cooperatives whether or not they belong to the Farmers Union.

COURTNEY B. CLELAND.  
North Dakota Agricultural College.

*The American Veteran Back Home: A Study of Veteran Adjustment.* By Robert J. Havighurst, Walter H. Eaton, John W. Baughman, and Ernest W. Burgess (The Committee on Human Development, The University of Chicago). New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951. Pp. xv + 271. \$3.50.

This is the story of 416 young men who entered the armed services from "Midwest," a community in Illinois, and of their return as veterans of World War II. These men were recruited from the city of six thousand and from the four thousand persons in the adjacent trading area.

The five social classes recognized in the community are described by Warner and associates in *Social Class in America*. Of "Midwest's" 1123 men eighteen to thirty years of age in 1944, 58 per cent (654) had become servicemen before 1945. By April 1 of 1946, the 416 men—who thereby became the universe studied—had been discharged from service. The proportion entering military service from the yearly age groups ranged downward from 79 per cent of the youth aged eighteen to only 28 per cent of the men of thirty years.

Only 39 per cent of the farm youth saw service, as compared with 65 per cent from urban families. The farm youth were deferred in order that they might produce food to win the war. However, even some of the farm youth expressed dissatisfaction with this policy of preferential treatment. Charges that the Selective Service officials favored the sons of upper-class families could not be substantiated by any data obtained in the study.

The socio-economic status of the men in their home community largely determined their rank in the armed services, where promotions came to be related to their earlier status and education. Upon return, nearly ten per cent of the veterans remained in their home town only for a visit, and then went elsewhere for employment. The study quotes a prominent citizen for the explanation: "People who are getting along don't move—the ones with family and background and those things—the ones who are doing all right . . ."

The study led to the hypothesis "that successful adjustment involves a narrowing

of the range of alternatives, a restriction—whether by personal choice, social compulsion, or economic circumstances—of the various things the individual may want to do." Two categories of veterans more readily accepted these restrictions and consequently made successful adjustment: the veterans from comfortable or well-to-do parental homes and the older veterans returning to support families of their own.

The authors found that the veterans made adjustments fully as completely as did the nonveterans. They concluded that, if any lasting effects of wartime military service did remain, the seeking of the differences must be done at the levels of psychiatric inquiry.

This study is an excellent description of veteran adjustments in a representative small urban community in the Midwest, where everyone "knows everyone else." Veterans who returned to a metropolis would surely not hope to feel the pressures to conform that are exerted in the small city.

MERTON D. OYLER.

The Ohio State University.

*A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma.*

By Muriel H. Wright. Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. xvii + 300. \$5.00.

The book is a worth-while addition to the reference material on the Indians of North America. It provides up-to-date information not readily available elsewhere on about one-third of the present Indian population of the United States. It is written in a clear and interesting style not usually found in such reference works.

A twenty-four page introduction, which includes five maps, gives a good general picture of the Indian settlement of Oklahoma by tribes from the south, east, north, and west, from the days when it was Indian Territory to the present. It gives some insight into the Indians' problem of adjustment and integration into modern American culture. There is, however, one small section on archaeology (pp. 7-8) which seems to be based on out-of-date and questionable information.

The greater part of the book takes up in alphabetical order, for easy reference, the sixty-six Indian tribes within the state. Many of these are no longer recognized separately. The information included on most of them is as follows: origin of the tribal name, linguistic stock, physical characteristics, present location, numbers, history, government and organization, con-



temporary life and development, ceremonial and public dances, and suggested readings. A long, well-indexed bibliography is included. The compilations are particularly valuable for information concerning the various tribal groups after 1900, and thus represent an invaluable supplement to the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*.

Of special interest are one-hundred and twenty-eight illustrations ranging through early paintings and early photographs of Indians to photographs of more recent villages, historic buildings, and present-day Indians. The illustrations are integrated with the text and add graphically to the story of the gradual integration of the Oklahoma Indians into modern Oklahoma culture. The book should be of use to sociologists for information on population, race mixture, and minority problems not easily available elsewhere.

CARL H. CHAPMAN.

University of Missouri.

*Economics of Income and Consumption.* By Helen G. Canoyer and Roland S. Vaile. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1951. Pp. iii + 355. \$4.50.

The application of the principles of economics to consumer problems is one of the avowed aims of this book. The authors suggest that such an approach makes the volume useful both to persons who have had little or no training in economics and to students who have been exposed to the principles of economics but who, fortunately or unfortunately, have never tried to apply these principles to the life around them. Accordingly, the first section is devoted to "How the Economy Produces or Works." A number of chapters set forth the definitions of production, consumption, and income. Others describe the mechanics of exchange, the role of specialization, and markets. Most of the book, however, is devoted to consumption and to the factors that affect national consumption and personal consumption. The Consumers' Movement and the role of government in consumers' problems are given extended treatment.

Rural consumption patterns are not specifically treated, and the struggle between farm and home for the farmer's dollar is ignored. Brief attention is paid to custom and tradition as factors influencing consumption and, oddly enough, these are considered among the personal characteristics that affect consumption.

Although the authors apparently have attempted to introduce the most recent statistics, one is impressed by the large number of references to studies made in the 1930's. Let us hope that the lowly consumer will not be compelled to wait for another depression before he can become once more the subject of widespread research.

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

The University of Connecticut.

*Trustees, Teachers, Students: Their Role in Higher Education.* By Ordway Tead. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1951. Pp. 8 + 120. \$2.00.

In September, 1950, Dr. Tead gave a series of addresses at the seventh annual meeting of the Utah Conference on Higher Education, held at the University of Utah. These addresses, along with a speech delivered at a conference sponsored by the American Council on Education in Chicago, Illinois, in 1950, were combined to form this book. As is usually true when a series of lectures is put together in book form, the trend of thought is not always clear; but since most of the lectures were given to the same audience in sequence, it is better than most books of this type.

The author has combined common knowledge with personal opinion in presenting certain challenges to those engaged in various roles in higher education. In certain instances, he is recommending approaches that sociologists, at least, have attempted to use for some time—showing a lack of familiarity with subject-matter content and methods and procedures used by sociologists, particularly those in the rural field. While not explicitly stated, the book points rather directly at the liberal arts program in higher education, which may be the one most familiar to the author.

A plea is made for practical application of subject matter presented in the classroom. Rural sociologists have used a number of techniques to enable the student to apply the material discussed in the classroom to the practical situation. At another point, the author indicates that public institutions, in particular, have moved too far from the field of religion; yet sociologists, both rural and urban, include this type of material in a number of courses and in a number of ways. It must be granted that many of these sociology courses do not present a specialized religious philosophy, but the importance of religion and religious values is often stressed in these courses.



The challenges presented by Tead for the teacher, in particular, are timely and pertinent. He presents a strong appeal for the advancement of human values through higher education, indicating that the teacher is one of the few remaining persons who can render an influence in this area.

In addition, some interesting ideas are presented pertaining to the college trustees and alumni. His criteria for the selection of a college president should prove of interest to sociologists.

WILLIAM J. TUDOR.

Southern Illinois University.

*Annotated Bibliography on the Amish.* By John A. Hostettler. Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951. Pp. xx + 100. \$1.50.

Here is an excellent collection of source materials pertaining to the Old Order Amish Mennonites, compiled by a Mennonite college student under the inspiration and guidance of a professor of church history and a professor of anthropology. The author shows the distribution of the 201 Amish church districts, scattered over 18 states and one Canadian province. From church membership, he estimates the total population of the Old Order Amish in America to be about 30,000 persons, located chiefly in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana.

The bibliography aims to cover the field completely, always with the main focus on the Old Order Amish. Hence, offshoot groups are not followed after the split. The bibliography is arranged in four parts: books and pamphlets, graduate theses, articles, and unpublished sources. Each item is briefly described and evaluated.

The booklet also contains an analytical subject index, listing the items under Settlement History, Church Doctrine and Practice, Literature, Language and Art, Hymnology, Biographies, Genealogy, etc. The collection should prove an added stimulus to those who are interested in studying this interesting group of people.

C. E. LIVELY.

University of Missouri.

*A Treasury of Western Folklore.* Edited by B. A. Botkin. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1951. Pp. xxvi + 806. \$4.00.

*The Old Farmer's Almanack, 1952.* By Robert B. Thomas. Dublin, New Hampshire: Yankee, Inc., 1951. Pp. 112. \$0.25.

This is the latest volume in "The Folklore Series" being edited by Mr. Botkin and

others, and is probably the most colorful. It covers all the territory west of the Missouri. The materials were gleaned from a great variety of sources and are presented under such general headings as "The West Begins," "Taming the West," "The Changing West," "Western Story Tellers," and "Western Songs and Ballads." An index of subjects, names and places, and another of authors, titles, and first lines of songs are very helpful. The volume affords delightful reading whether one is interested in tall story, humorous or dramatic anecdote, or a plausible version of some historic event. Rural sociologists need only be reminded that folklore represents a valuable key to understanding the culture of a people—the sort of understanding that can be expressed only feebly in terms of quantitative data. For that purpose, this volume would be a valuable addition to any library. The introduction written by Bernard de Voto is, alone, worth the price of the book.

This is the 160th edition of *The Old Farmer's Almanack* first published in 1792. Although the "latest developments in agricultural science" (courtesy, U.S.D.A.) have shoved out much of the folklore contained in earlier editions, the "old farmer" will still find his table of planting dates when the "moon is most favorable." Also, he will find a universal weather table reprinted from the edition of 1849. The astronomical calculations and weather forecasts are made for Boston, Massachusetts, but a conversion table enables the farmer to calculate corresponding data—and, hence, a forecast for his own particular locality. Included also are recipes, breeding data, puzzles, fish and game laws, motor-vehicle laws, etc. The reader gains the impression that the folklore of yesteryear is gradually yielding space to current fact and science.

C. E. LIVELY.

University of Missouri.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

*Let's Live! A Program of Conduct.* By Claude Richards. New York: Exposition Press, Inc., 1951. Pp. 206. \$3.00.

*Theory and Practice of Social Case Work.* By Gordon Hamilton. Second edition, revised. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. vii + 328. \$4.00.

*The Social Welfare Forum.* Official proceedings, 78th annual meeting of National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, N. J., 1951. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. xvi + 380. \$5.00.

*Readings in Agricultural Economics: Rehabilitation of Low Income Groups in Agriculture.* By M. L. Dantwala, for the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. Bombay: The Sanj Vartaman Press, 1951. Pp. 288. Rs. 9.

*Government Project.* By Edward C. Banfield. Foreword by Rexford G. Tugwell. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951. Pp. 271. \$3.50.

*Notes on the Theory of Progress.* By Leland Mathis. Riverside, Illinois: Pine Avenue Publisher, 1951. Pp. ii + 63. Paper, \$1.00.

*The Research Paper.* By Florence M. A. Hilbish. New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1952. Pp. 292. \$2.95.

*Understanding Heredity: An Introduction to Genetics.* By Richard B. Goldschmidt. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1952. Pp. ix + 228. \$3.75.

## CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by T. Wilson Longmore\*

*Social Stratification in a Pennsylvania Rural Community.* Otis Dudley Duncan and Jay W. Artis. Pa. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 543, State College. 49 pp. Oct. 1951.

According to the authors, "the two major substantive objectives of this study were: (1) to depict in detail the stratification structure of the community studied, with regard to a number of indices of stratification and their interrelationships; and (2) to discover what relationships exist between the stratification structure and one functional or behavioral area of scientific and practical interest: social participation."

This study has been carefully done. The two central problems of the project are clearly delineated and the available field data collected are brought to bear on them. The bulletin is a distinct contribution to stratification theory and method. It goes beyond description in terms of accepted patterns, and plows new ground conceptually. The study also appears to have profited from early findings in the field.

The major contribution of the study is a comparative analysis of several criteria of stratification. To the reviewer's knowledge, this is the most extensive and systematic investigation on this problem yet attempted. It is part of the search for the answer to the question concerning the most useful of many criteria of social rank. The seven measures of status compared were: occupation, income, education, public office holding, the Sewell socio-economic scale, a community prestige score, and the prestige ratings of five community members. Correlation ratios, contingency coefficients, and Pearsonian correlation coefficients were employed in computing the relationships. Of the several measures of rank, the socio-economic score, prestige rating, education, and occupation each generally had higher coefficients with the other six items than did income, community prestige score, or office holding. The socio-economic score, prestige rating, education, and income were the more highly correlated with measures of participation.

The informant in each of the 533 households in the village-centered community, the locale of the study, was asked several questions concerning the stratification structure. Among these was the request for the names of families of higher, lower,

and the same community standing, and the criteria of rank. From the former information the community prestige score was computed. Although the criteria for higher and lower standing were treated in a more statistically sophisticated manner than in previous studies, the findings were much the same.

Also, as in earlier studies, a decided positive correlation between measures of participation and social rank was found. The basis for computing the formal participation score appears well adapted to the data, but the indices of semiformal and informal participation are more measures of variety than of intensity of activity.

Important methodological questions, in addition to those mentioned above, for which the findings of this study have relevance are (1) number of classes and their boundaries, and (2) procedures in the use of judges—their selection, degree to which they are directed in the rating procedure, and ways of arriving at a composite rank.

HAROLD F. KAUFMAN.

Mississippi State College.

*Rural Organization: A Restudy of Locality Groups, Wake County, North Carolina.* Selz C. Mayo and Robert McD. Bobbitt. N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Tech. Bull. 95, Raleigh. 46 pp. Sept. 1951.

This bulletin is a 1948 comparison of locality groups in Wake County, North Carolina, with the original 1921 study of Carle C. Zimmerman and Carl C. Taylor. The present objectives are "to determine the changes in locality groups in Wake County during the past twenty-five years . . ."; to determine the service agencies in the locality groups and the extent and direction of their change; and to determine the extent to which selected agencies are using locality groups in their programs. The first objective is treated in some detail, as is the second; but only brief mention is made of the third objective.

The authors describe the backgrounds of the 1921 and 1948 studies and the methods employed in them, with a glimpse of the tradition of rural sociology. They briefly summarize the technological and population changes in the county, with comments on the increase in rural nonfarm population and the out-migration of the rural population, especially Negroes.

\*Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

To this reviewer, the significant section of the bulletin is the authors' description of two separate methodological approaches. The first method was similar to that of the 1921 study, or the distribution of questionnaires to parents, with the cooperation of school teachers and pupils. The second method is termed the "field reconnaissance survey," or an attempt to map the presence and extent of autonomous locality groups by personal contact. When the authors employed the first method they found that about two-thirds of the locality groups identified in the 1921 study still persisted, and they located a number of others not formerly present or identified. They qualify the finding with a report of difficulties when the questionnaire was distributed by school children. The problem here is believed to be the varying definitions given to "neighborhood" and "community" by rural people.

When the second method, field reconnaissance interviewing, was employed, 101 locality groups totally or partly in Wake County were identified. The authors point out the different results obtained by the two methods. For instance, "Twenty groups were mapped in the field which were not claimed by three or more white families in the other method; 33 areas were named by three or more white families on the school cards which were not mapped by the field method." Since the 1921 study did not have the advantage of two separate methods, the reader may find it difficult to know what really happened to the locality groups in the intervening period.

The authors conclude that the present overlapping of areas served by trading centers means that a particular center no longer has exclusive claim to meeting the needs of rural people. They state: "Proximity is not now a compelling force in the relationship between the people in the open country and a specific trade center." Finally, a too brief examination is given of the groupings employed by school districts, minor civil divisions, voting places of the Production and Marketing Administration, and post offices.

An important method in ascertaining social changes is the restudy of selected social settings. For a neatly packaged bulletin and a scrutiny of the methodological difficulties in such a restudy, the authors are to be commended. However, as the bulletins of rural sociologists increase in the area of rural social organization, this reviewer wonders how far we shall get by drawing lines on a map. The present authors raise the same question when they

say, "the mere fact of locating and mapping locality groups for any given larger area is important, but it leaves much to be desired in terms of the internal structure and the functioning of those locality groups."

PAUL A. MILLER.

Michigan State College.

*The Rural Family and Its Source of Income.*

Dorothy Dickins. Miss. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 481, State College. 34 pp. March 1951.

A bulletin by Dorothy Dickins is always stimulating. In this one she set out to compare the manner of living of rural families, classified according to the source of their income, by degree of industrialization of the county in which they are located. A total of 578 families in Jones County, Mississippi, and 613 families in Lee County, Mississippi, comprise the sample. In both counties, rural families were shifting from farming into industry, but the shift was much more pronounced in Jones County.

The families were classified into the following four source-of-family-income groups: (1) Farm, (2) Off-farm, (3) Part-farm, and (4) Other. The tabular analysis shows that income patterns of rural families in the four source-of-family-income groups are similar in the two counties where intensity and type of industrialization differ. That is, families in the *Farm* group have much lower incomes, those in the *Off-farm* group higher income. Families in the *Farm*, *Off-farm*, and *Part-farm* groups were classified into two net-income classes (\$0-\$999, and \$1,000 and over) and their manner of living compared:

"Families in the \$0-\$999 income class in all three source-of-family-income groups had patterns of family living not too different . . .

"At the \$1000 and over net income level, there were more differences in manner of living of families in the three source-of-family-income groups. *Farm* families spent less for living than did families in the other two groups. They had poorer housing facilities and equipment. Members less often consulted a dentist than members in the other groups. Families in the *Part-farm* group had living patterns more like those of the *Off-farm* group. However, they produced about as much food for home use as families in the *Farm* group.

"Male heads and wives in families of the *Part-farm* group participated more in community organizations than did male heads and wives in families in the other groups."



Dr. Dickens has made a contribution in focusing attention upon the distinctly farm component of the rapidly industrializing local community and, in a tentative way at least, has shown that the socio-economic status of the farm group is not necessarily raised thereby. It would seem, however, that a combination of off-farm work with farm operation within a family was generally more successful. The author reports that since the study was made, two distinct approaches to the solution of the problem of low-income families have been attempted in the respective counties. The first—in Jones County—she calls the “commodity approach,” which emphasizes organization of farmers in furnishing vegetables to the market and to be processed. The second—in Lee County—emphasizes the “community approach,” wherein the communities have been organized and members of families are at work to improve not only their level of living but that of every other family in the community. One wonders if the lag in farm income is not due largely to traditional patterns of farming and may be expected to change slowly.

T. WILSON LONGMORE.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Rural Social Organization in Henry County, Indiana.* Paul J. Jehlik and J. Edwin Losey. Purdue Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 568, Lafayette. 58 pp. Nov. 1951.

Co-authored by a present and a past staff member of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, this bulletin is one of the series of county monographs, of which some fifteen have already been published.

Henry County, on the eastern fringe of the Corn Belt, was chosen for analysis because it is “representative of counties in the livestock and grain areas of Indiana and reflects the type of rural social organization that is emerging with the westward movement of decentralized industry.” This county was one of four in the United States selected, in 1944, by the Federal Council on Inter-Governmental Relations, which, through a local council, spent three years in an intensive study of the governmental structure and functioning of the county and completed 14 reports of findings.

Adapting from the procedure used by Frank Alexander and Lowry Nelson in their study of Goodhue County, Minnesota, the authors have delineated the major locality groups and evaluated and classified them on the basis of their service rating and degree of group identification. Fol-

lowing a brief description of the numerous institutions and agencies functioning in the county, accompanied by charts showing the relationships between such groups, there is an excellent section analyzing the changes that have taken place in locality groupings, local government, group functions of the family, open-country churches, schools, formal and informal organizations, and government agencies.

In general, the report further documents the conclusion that the most important aspect of social change in rural areas is that of increasing urbanization, which, accompanied by modern communication and transportation, development of larger trade centers, and the expansion of specialized interests, demands an increasing ability on the part of a county's citizens to adjust to a more complex pattern of relationships.

With its detailed analysis, omission of the unessential, and emphasis on the primary objectives of the study, the Henry County bulletin may be rated as one of the better publications in the series, some of which have suffered from a “plus” of description and a “minus” of analysis.

RALPH R. NICHOLS.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*A Study of Rural Communities and Organizations in Seward County, Nebraska.* A. H. Anderson. Neb. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 405, Lincoln. 36 pp. Nov. 1951.

This is another in the series of comparable studies conducted by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in cooperation with the land-grant colleges. Located in southeastern Nebraska, Seward County is at the western fringe of the Corn Belt. With a population of only 14,167, the county is relatively untouched by the industrialization and urbanization characteristic of many rural areas. Seward, the largest town and county seat, had a 1940 population of 2,826. Not mentioned in the study is the fact that the county has had a general population decline since 1900.

The author indicates that the summary is “based upon compiled quantitative data about the county, and systematic first-hand observation.” The textual presentation is effectively enhanced by the inclusion of eleven large county maps giving the location of population centers, neighborhoods, school districts, churches, clubs, etc.

Rural organizations are described under the headings of locality groups, institutionalized organizations, formally organized groups, informal groups, and agencies and administrative units. Absent from the section on institutionalized organizations is

any discussion of rural governmental and economic institutions, although brief reference is made to these elsewhere in the study.

Formal group organization in the county is "characterized by diversity; by the large number [of organizations] that are church-connected; by the incomplete participation of certain nationality and church elements in the activities of organized county-wide groups; by the limited development of organized programs for older youth, by the relative inactivity of distinct farm organizations (the three granges are local groups); and by extensive activity of farmers' cooperative organizations." Some reference is made to ethnic groups in the county; among these are Bohemians and Mennonites, who, because of their strong group loyalties, are less integrated than others into the larger county organizational structure.

Observable trends reported include school consolidation, increased high-school attendance, increased church membership, transfer of activities and services to the larger towns, less traditional kinship-group association, and elimination of threshing rings through farm mechanization. In a few cases, trend evaluations appear to have a subjective rather than an objective basis.

The study makes no reference to social class factors, health agencies, and rural mobility. No mention is made of the effects of the drouth in the mid-1930's on population movement and rural organizations, although it is reported that the number of business establishments dropped from 330 in 1930 to less than 250 in 1945. Receiving only passing mention are leadership patterns, community problems, group cleavages, and the adequacy or inadequacy of trade and service institutions. Omissions are no doubt due, in part at least, to arbitrary limitations placed on the study by the sponsoring agencies. In general, the study is brief, concise, very readable, and well illustrated with maps and tables. The author has made a valuable contribution to the growing list of rural organization studies.

J. HOWARD KAUFFMAN.

Goshen College.

*Service Relationships of Farmers in Lincoln County, Oklahoma.* John C. Belcher. Okla. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. B-383, Stillwater. 26 pp. March, 1952.

The object of the study was to answer the question, "Have changing service relationships isolated many of the rural people of

Oklahoma?" Ten per cent (266) of the farm families in Lincoln County were visited to secure information. Since it is emphasized that the county is not representative of the state, the findings are applicable only to that county.

The first figure shows in detail the centers designated as home towns by the families interviewed, together with an outline of the boundaries of the rural communities as delineated by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1941. Other charts show where the individual families go for groceries, where they buy dress clothes, where they market livestock and eggs, and where they go to church and Sunday School. Various services and the centers where the families go for those services are listed in Table 1. The following tables relate percentages of the families who do not use specified services to various characteristics: education of the head of the family, socio-economic status, age, occupation, and tenure status. The same characteristics are related to the percentages who obtain the specified services from outside their home community.

Some conclusions drawn from the study are: Most people buy their groceries from local merchants; but many families buy the "week's supply" of groceries in a chain store in a nearby city and get day-to-day needs, such as bread, at the nearest store. Farmers usually sell where they can get the most money, but tend to buy at a given place because of habit and tradition. Some specialized services such as medical care and banking are available only in larger towns. Formal educational activities tend to be limited to those available in the county. Neither education of family head nor socio-economic status seem to exert much influence on where a farmer goes for goods and services. The study shows that many rural people cannot obtain, or do not avail themselves of, goods and services that are often considered essential to a full and happy rural life.

The omission of the actual numbers on which percentages are based is unfortunate, since some persons like to rearrange items to fit their own particular problems.

GRACE L. FLAGG.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Agricultural Mechanization and Social Change in Rural Louisiana.* Alvin L. Bertrand. La. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 458, Baton Rouge. 48 pp. June 1951.

This study was made to provide information and interpretations which will be of

assistance to those persons at the local, state, and regional level who have an interest in or a responsibility for agricultural planning programs. The information for the study was obtained primarily from the census and a field study, and is considered under three broad phases—namely, the advent and progress of agricultural mechanization in various areas of Louisiana, the motivating forces in mechanization and reactions to it, and mechanization and its relation to social change.

The degree of mechanization was determined for each parish of the state by a combination of two indexes, the number of tractors per 1,000 acres of cropland and the dollar valuation of implements and machinery per acre of cropland. It was found that the most highly mechanized area is the group of parishes of south Louisiana, and the least mechanized parishes are those in the upper part of the state. The parishes of the state were divided into four groups, each representing an extent of mechanization. For a more detailed description of mechanization, four circular survey areas were selected to represent the groups. Every farm operator and non-operator in these areas, with few exceptions, was interviewed on a variety of questions.

While the Depression, AAA program, and World War II were identified with setting in motion agricultural mechanization, the particular reasons for mechanizing given by farmers were economy (the primary one), followed by labor shortage, efficiency of the machine, and easier work for the operator. The chief reasons for not mechanizing were: operator too old, limited finances, and farm too small.

The study points out a number of identifications—if not causative relationships—between mechanization and social and economic changes, such as decreases in rural population, a loosening of the ties on individual members of the rural family, decline in function of the rural church, increase in leisure time, and improved town-country relations. The bulletin is well done to fulfill its objectives and should be a significant addition to the few investigations already conducted in this field.

RANDALL C. HILL.

Kansas State College.

- U. S. Congress, Senate, 82nd Congress. *Manpower, Chemistry, and Agriculture*. (Staff report to the Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U. S. Senate, Washington.) 45 pp. 1952.

This report provides a short and interesting description of chemical developments in agriculture, with some indication of their effect upon total manpower requirements in rural areas. Chemical developments, as well as farm mechanization, have reduced and will continue to reduce the total effort required to provide a given amount of farm products. An analysis of the differential impact of these technological developments upon the farm family and other rural institutions is not a part of the report.

ROY L. ROBERTS.

Social Security Administration.

*Relaciones de Los Socios en Una Cooperativa de Venta de Cafe*. P. B. Vasquez-Calcerrada. Univ. of Puerto Rico Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 90, Rio Piedras, P.R. 53 pp. 1951.

This research study, in Spanish, was made under the direction of the Puerto Rican rural sociologist Dr. Pablo B. Vasquez, with the "Cooperativa de Cafeteros" of Puerto Rico as the subject. Seven hundred and twenty-two members of the cooperative were interviewed on questions especially prepared for the study. The objectives were to discover the relationships of the members to the cooperative, to evaluate such relationships in terms of the participation, knowledge, and opinions of the members, and to determine the interrelationships existing between these factors and some characteristics of the members such as age, education, economic status, size of farm, etc.

This cooperative was selected because the members are scattered over a wide area in Puerto Rico with conditions and characteristics similar to those of members of other agricultural cooperatives in Puerto Rico. The main problem of the cooperative lies in the fact that the members have been motivated to join for economic reasons—more specifically because of the prices they could get for their coffee. Participation by the members in the affairs of the society is weak, and their knowledge of the structure and operation of the cooperative is deficient. Since the economic aspects of the enterprise have been stressed by the officials, members have little knowledge of the social and cultural aspects of cooperatives. Better educational methods are needed, for practically the only means of informing the membership is through a magazine

which is not especially adapted to the intellectual level of most of the members.

The findings show clearly the urgent need for stressing and developing the social and cultural advantages as well as the economic in the promotion and operation of cooperatives. Through this triple approach the cooperative, rather than being merely an economic enterprise, could become a real institution through which the problems and needs of the members as well as of the community in which they live could be discussed and suitable solutions sought. This objective might also be reached, at least partially, as suggested in the study, through modern and dynamic methods of education set at the intellectual and educational levels of the members. This report, which is substantiated by statistical data, will be of value to cooperative societies in Puerto Rico.

The study will be welcomed by cooperative societies and officials in Latin America where very little has been done in the field of research concerning cooperative societies.

FERNANDO CHAVES NUNEZ.

Pan American Union.

*Agriculture in Japan.* Ministry of Agriculture & Forestry, Japanese Government, Tokyo. 42 pp. Nov. 1951.

Current conditions in Japanese agriculture are set forth in summary fashion with emphasis on natural conditions and economic and social features, such as the importance of agriculture from the standpoint of national economy, farm households, land holdings, and land use. It is emphasized that only about one-sixth of the total area of the four Japanese islands can be cultivated, because of the roughness of the terrain; that land holdings are small; and that very effective use is made of the land, with the practice of double-cropping common wherever possible within climatic conditions. Living standards are reasonably high in view of the small size of the farms.

Agricultural production appropriately emphasizes rice, with considerably less attention to barley and wheat, potatoes, soy beans, fruits and vegetables—all of which are important agriculturally. Silk production remains a well-known Japanese enterprise and is gaining some strength as compared with the low ebb during the war period. Rural industries too are discussed; there is much processing of agricultural products in Japanese farm homes.

In a chapter devoted to agricultural administration, the land policy is set forth

under three headings: agricultural land reform, land improvement, and land reclamation. Attention is also given to the Agricultural Extension Service, farm organizations, cooperatives, agricultural insurance, and statistical research.

In the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in Japan are also included forestry and fishing. Forests naturally play a very large part in the Japanese economy. The forests were depleted at a rapid rate in the postwar period because of the necessity of rebuilding cities and other construction work. The reforestation program is again making good headway, but it will be many years before the forests can be restored to a condition comparable to that which existed when World War II broke out. Fishing has long been a great enterprise in Japan, which, incidentally, is the largest fish-producing nation in the world. Tide-water boats are used by the hundreds of thousands and great fishing enterprises extend into the Arctic and Antarctic regions, including some whaling expeditions.

A final section dealing with food emphasizes the importance of rice and fish in the Japanese diet. It is interesting to note that, according to the report, dietary habits have improved—although there is still great need for further improvement.

ARTHUR F. RAPER.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Agricultural Programs in Japan, 1945-51.*

Mark B. Williamson. Natural Resources Sec. Rpt. 148; General Headquarters, Supreme Command for the Allied Powers, Tokyo. 165 pp. 1951.

The agricultural programs in Japan under the Occupation from 1945 to 1951 are set forth in this document. Compiled under the direction of Mark B. Williamson, Head of Agricultural Division, Natural Resources Section, General Headquarters, SCAP, this report contains a very good statement on the backgrounds of the agricultural reforms in Japan, as well as a factual presentation of the various phases of the whole agricultural activity—including operational procedures, basic statistics on Japanese agriculture, and programs dealing with economic reforms. Here are presented activities launched to increase food production through greater application of fertilizer, control of insects and diseases, farm storage, land reclamation (including the positive effects of the Japanese land reform), and so forth. Attention is also called to the food collection program of Japan, by



which rice and other staple products are purchased at government prices for distribution in cities.

Special attention is rightfully given to the economic reforms, with the status of the land reform set forth in considerable detail. There are also rather full statements about agricultural cooperatives and agricultural credit, taxes, and insurance.

This volume, which is well illustrated and documented with statistical tables, is perhaps the most important single volume that has come out on the agricultural situation in Japan as influenced by the agricultural reforms of the Occupation.

ARTHUR F. RAPER.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

*Depopulation and Rural Life in Scotland.*

Bertram Hutchinson. N.S. 120(d), Social Survey Reports; Central Office of Information, Scotland. 36 pp. 1949.

In 1948, the Social Survey was asked by the Department of Health for Scotland to carry out in selected areas of Scotland an investigation into rural living conditions and the causes of rural depopulation. As a result, studies were made in (1) the Solway Counties of southwest Scotland (N.S. 120), (2) the Tweed Basin (120-b), and (3) northeast Scotland within the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, (120-c).

From the combined rural population of the three survey areas, 6,656 persons aged 16 or over were selected and interviewed. The Solway Counties are predominantly concerned with dairy farming and with hill sheep farming in the uplands. The normal pattern of settlement is one of dispersed farm houses and cottages. The two main industries in the Tweed Valley are agriculture, concentrated on sheep rearing and feeding, and textile manufacture. The area is characterized by low mean density of population and the people are concentrated in the lower ends of the larger valleys. Aberdeen and Banff, renowned for pedigree cattle, provide high-quality beef for the London and other southern markets. Apart from agriculture, the fishing industry is of considerable importance. Almost all of the important manufacturing industries are connected with food and drink. Census reports over the past 50 years show that the population of rural areas of Scotland has steadily declined.

The interview questionnaire provided the data for a factorial analysis of the causes of present migration. It was found that acquaintance with past migrants, the loca-

tion of the dwelling, dissatisfaction with housing, and frequency of visits to burghs have some bearing on depopulation but are not fundamental. A markedly high proportion of the potential migrants were among younger people, and among people engaged in white-collar work and professional and clerical occupations. But apart from these two aspects there seems to be little difference in the level of living or the opinions of the moving and non-moving populations.

The reasons given by informants for wishing to migrate were more helpful in getting at the causes of migration; 35 per cent of all informants referred in some way to the problem of getting a better job. A fourth of the potential migrants gave as a reason their desire to escape from the loneliness and stagnation, as they regarded it, of the district in which they were living. A third group, comprising about one-fifth of the answers, merely said, "I just want to move," or "I want a change from this place."

In order to amplify the data from the main questionnaire, use was made of a postal questionnaire addressed to persons known to have moved from these areas to a town during the years 1919-1948. One of the most interesting tables resulting from this procedure shows a comparison of the present occupation of migrants with their occupations at the time they left rural Scotland. The table leaves little doubt that migration is accompanied, or followed, by a marked rise in the occupational status of many migrants. What is strongly suggested by the anomalous and apparently inconsistent nature of some of the evidence is that rural migration, in many cases, has sprung basically from a general dissatisfaction with rural life rather than with one or the other of the specific aspects of it. It was noted in particular that the answers of informants made little reference to the general living conditions of rural life, such as housing, public services, entertainments, and transportation. In fact, it was suggested that small improvements in housing and amenities in rural areas have served only to whet the appetite rather than to satisfy it. The operational conclusion which the author comes up with is: The aim must be to make possible a satisfactory way of life for rural people on a standard which can be compared favorably with urban conditions.

T. WILSON LONGMORE.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

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- Gooch, Donald W. *World Land Reform. A Selective Bibliography*. U. S. Dept. Agr. Libr. List 55, Washington. 19 pp. Sept. 1951.
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- U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bur. Agr. Econ. *Farm Housing and Construction*. Washington. 34 pp. Feb. 1952.
- U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Library. *Selected List of American Agricultural Books*. Libr. List No. 1 (revised), Washington. 19 pp. Feb. 1952.

## NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

*Edited by Samuel W. Blizzard*

### THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Preliminary Announcements for

1952 Annual Meeting

Pennsylvania State College

August 30-September 1, 1952

Lodging will be at Atherton Hall. Address reservations to:

Dr. Roy C. Buck  
Pennsylvania State College  
State College, Pennsylvania

Meals: Allencrest Restaurant; group rate meal-ticket arrangement.

Travel to State College:

Car: U. S. Highway 322; State Highway 45

Bus: Greyhound Lines from various points

Rail: From the East via Pennsylvania Railroad to Lewistown, then by special bus to State College. From the West via Pennsylvania Railroad to Altoona, then by Greyhound bus to State College. From Washington or points south change trains at Harrisburg for Lewistown.

Joint Sessions with THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY will be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 3-5. One sectional meeting there will be devoted to "The Sociological Significance of the Rural-Urban Fringe," with Charles E. Lively as Chairman. The president's speech will occur Thursday evening, September 4, on the subject, "Rural Revelations of the 1950 Census."

#### Preliminary Outline of the Program

(Registration and meetings will be in Atherton Hall)

#### SATURDAY, AUGUST 30

- 9:00 - 12:00 A. M. Meeting of the Board of Editors  
2:00 P. M. Registration for the Annual Meeting of the Society  
2:30 - 4:30 P. M. **Community Study Seminar.** (William M. Smith, Jr., Chairman; other seminar leaders: Harold F. Kaufman, Selz Mayo, Christopher Sower, Frank Alexander, James R. White, Donald R. Fessler)  
5:00 - 6:00 P. M. Meeting of the Executive Committee  
7:30 P. M. **Rural Sociology in Puerto Rico** (Carl C. Taylor, Chairman; other participants: Pablo B. Vasquez-Calcerrada, Amaury Suarez, Emilio Cofresi)

#### SUNDAY, AUGUST 31

(The designations Section I, Section II, refer to concurrent sections in different rooms)

- 9:00 A. M. Section I. Committee Report: **Social Aspects of Farm Labor** (Lowry Nelson and fellow committeemen)  
Section II. Committee Report: **The Impact of Technology on Rural Organization** (Harald Pedersen and fellow committeemen)  
11:00 A. M. Business Meeting of the Society  
2:00 P. M. Section I. Committee Reports: (A) **Homogeneous Rural Areas;** (B) **Rural Regions** (Charles E. Lively and fellow committeemen)  
Section II. Committee Report: **Dynamics of Rural Population** (Homer Hitt and fellow committeemen)

(Continued)

## RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY PROGRAM—Continued

- 3:00 P. M. Tea for the wives (Living Center, Home Economics Building)  
Exhibition of Pennsylvania Dutch Art
- 4:00 P. M. Section I: Paper, **Rural Urban Differences in Child Welfare Indices in Low-Income Broken Families in the United States**, Gordon W. Blackwell and Raymond F. Gould
- Section II: Paper, **"New Approaches for Agricultural Extension in Problem Areas,"** B. J. Przedpelski
- 7:30 P. M. Paper: **"Thirty Years of Growth in Rural Sociology,"** F. R. Yoder

## MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1

- 8:00 A. M. Meeting of the Executive Committee
- 9:00 A. M. Section I: Committee Report: **Agricultural Cooperatives and General Farm Organizations** (Ray Wakeley and fellow committeemen)
- Section II: Committee Reports: **Round-up Interim Reports of Other Ad Hoc Committees** (Walter McKain, Wilson Longmore, Duane Gibson, and others)
- 11:00 A. M. Business Meeting of the Society
- 2:00 P. M. Visit to Big Valley: an Amish-Mennonite community (John A. Hostetler, guide and discussion leader)
- 5:30 P. M. Dinner in Big Valley
- 8:00 P. M. Round-table: **Rural Sociologists and Foreign Assignments** (Olaf Larson, Chairman)

## TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

Open for travel to Atlantic City to joint sessions  
with American Sociological Society

## COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

**Bible College of Missouri.** A graduate department is being established to train country ministers and religious education directors. Heretofore, all courses have been on the undergraduate level for University of Missouri students. A five-year plan calls for the addition of at least one staff member each year. Educational executives of several denominations are advising the Bible College in this expansion project for the rural church in Missouri.

**Harvard University.** Carle C. Zimmerman has been elected to the New York Academy of Sciences.

**Lewis and Clark College.** Eduard C. Lindeman will be a special consultant for two graduate workshops on the community and intergroup education to be held during June and July, 1952.

**University of Louisville.** C. H. Parrish, for many years professor of sociology at Louisville Municipal College, has been transferred to the sociology staff of the Arts and Science College. This is in line with the recent action of the Board of Trustees abolishing the separate college for Negroes and integrating the Negro students into other colleges and schools of the uni-

versity. It is believed that Parrish is one of the first Negro professors to teach unsegregated classes full-time in the South.

Ray Birdwhistell is on leave of absence to teach at the School of Advanced and Specialized Studies of the Foreign Service Institute connected with the Department of State. His work will consist of helping to train specialists in the Point Four Program.

Frank Vicroy is offering a new course in Industrial Sociology.

**University of Minnesota.** Under a grant from the Louis W. and Maud Hill Foundation, a research project has been inaugurated to study parent-child relationships in a sample of rural farm, rural nonfarm, and small city Minnesota families. The project, sponsored by the Agricultural Experiment Station, will be directed by Marvin Taves, instructor in sociology.

**University of Mississippi.** William G. Haag, associate professor of anthropology, is on leave of absence during the second semester visiting Louisiana State University.

Robert L. Rands, who recently completed his doctorate at Columbia University, is acting assistant professor of anthropology. He and Mrs. Rands are continuing work on



the archaeological materials from their expedition to the Maya site at Palenque, Mexico.

**Muskingum College.** Rural sociology students, under the direction of William L. Ludlow, took a five-day field trip to study the programs of rural groups and organizations. Professor Ludlow is preparing a syllabus for his course in rural sociology.

**North Dakota Agricultural College.** Courtney B. Cleland, on leave of absence to accept a Ford faculty fellowship, spent most of the year in field work in Williams County, North Dakota. He has recently published articles on a Minnesota grain cooperative and on the largest rural-school reorganization in North Dakota.

All social sciences are now grouped in one department. Future plans call for curriculum revision, including an interdisciplinary course on the Great Plains region.

The college is now authorized to grant the master of science degree in social science. The North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, established in 1950, has furnished a new impetus for social research. Interested students may write the executive secretary, Fargo, North Dakota.

**The Ohio State University.** A. R. Mangus is on leave of absence to set up an extensive research organization in connection with the California Department of Mental Health. His headquarters are at the Langley Porter Clinic in San Francisco.

Teaching and research in rural sociology are being conducted by Wade H. Andrews.

For the spring term, James E. White will be visiting professor, conducting courses in Rural Living. Sheldon Baker has been appointed as research assistant for population research.

J. P. Schmidt was a delegate to the U. S. Commission meetings on UNESCO at Hunter College, New York, January 27-31. He conducted a section discussion on Farm and Rural Organizations and wrote the report for this division.

**Park College.** Richard O. Comfort, head of the Sociology Department, delivered the Faculty Lectures this year on the following topics: "The Protestant Christian Looks at Man, the Church, and Ethics," "A Sociologist Looks at Man, the Church, and Ethics," "A Working Relationship between Protestant Christianity and Sociology."

**The Pennsylvania State College.** A grant of \$34,000 from the Health Information Foundation is financing an attempt to locate sociological and psychological factors associated with failure of parents of school children to correct dental and health conditions

reported to them following the school dental and health examinations, and to develop experimental techniques for increasing the correction rate.

Under the Social Science Research Center, the work is being done in the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology. William G. Mather is in charge, in association with M. E. John and Samuel W. Blizzard. Other members of the research team are Lauris Whitman, research associate; Mary Beth Ayers and James Lias, research assistants; and Edward B. Cottrell, graduate student.

A paired-sample technique is being used in collection of data and development of experimental manipulative designs, with a selected group of school districts as the subjects. Completion of the study is expected to require a year and a half.

A social and economic analysis of income from deer hunters and of deer damage to farm crops is being made in cooperation with the Pennsylvania Game Commission, under a grant from the Pennsylvania Cooperative Wildlife Research Unit. The study has four phases: methodology of appraising intensity of deer damage to crops; determination of the extent of deer damage to farm crops; determination of the type and amount of expenditures by deer hunters; and an appraisal of the attitude of farmers, deer hunters, and local businessmen toward hunting in their community. The research team includes J. K. Pasto, farm management; J. B. Washko, agronomy; and Samuel W. Blizzard, rural sociology.

**University of Tennessee.** W. B. Jones, Jr., professor of sociology, will organize and lead a workshop to be held at Fontana Dam, North Carolina, June 8 through June 21, 1952, for the field staff of the Save the Children Federation. This agency serves needy children in 175 counties in the states of Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri. Attending the workshop will be the president and board members, approximately 20 members of the field staff, and six resource persons from the fields of welfare, education, health, religion, and government. Work with community agencies and organizations in rural counties will be emphasized.

**Western Michigan College of Education.** "The Community as the Area for Church Service" was the theme of the eighth annual Town and Country Church Conference of Ministers and Laymen, held on March 11. Some one hundred fifty persons from the southwestern area of the state, plus students from the Department of Rural Life and Education, participated in the

day's program. The keynote address was given by Rockwell C. Smith of Garrett Biblical Institute, Northwestern University.

**Winthrop College.** The Sociology Department sponsored the second annual Sociology Forum, March 11, 1952, on the topic "Community Development." Jess Ogden, co-director of community service, Extension Division, University of Virginia, was the principal speaker. Features of the forum were a panel discussion by community organization specialists and high-school students, and small discussion groups. Attendance included 170 students from 26 high schools, and 30 adults.

#### GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

**Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, B.A.E., U.S.D.A.** Helen R. White, recently of the Census Bureau, has joined the staff of the Population Section.

**Farm Population and Rural Life Section, Canada Department of Agriculture.** Research is being conducted which attempts to study the motivation underlying farmers' choice of alternative farm enterprises in a mixed farming area of Western Canada. An exploratory study indicated the need for a socio-psychological approach to the problem.

#### PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

**Congregational Christian Churches, Town and Country Department.** A parish workbook for rural pastors, edited by Thomas Alfred Tripp and Wesley A. Hotchkiss, is being published. This book is to be a loose-leaf, continually revised "tool" for rural churches. It is based on the Self-Evaluation Scale for Town and Country Churches prepared last year by a national rural committee of the denomination.

**Health Information Foundation.** The foundation—organized in 1950 by leaders in the drug, pharmaceutical, chemical, and allied industries—was chartered to support and conduct social and economic research which might bring to light new facts that may be used to further improve the health of the American people. A number of research projects have been undertaken.

A sociological and economic analysis was made of participants and non-participants in a multi-test clinic held in Richmond, Virginia. The attitudes of various groups toward such a health action technique were also studied. The results have been published by the foundation, and a limited number of copies are available. The project was conducted by Walter E. Boek, director of research; Richard G. Davis, for-

merly assistant director of research; and Jean K. Boek, research associate.

The Research Department of the foundation is now publishing an annotated bibliography of social and economic research being conducted in the field of health. Questionnaires were distributed to over 700 private, academic, and governmental health research organizations.

A grant to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Wayne University, was made for the description and analysis of the Toledo and Lucas County Academy of Medicine's medical service program. The report of this study is in the process of publication.

A grant has been made to the Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, for a study of the methods of paying for medical services. An interim report has been published by the Columbia University Press.

The foundation is cooperating with other national organizations in financing a study of hospital-financing problems. The Commission on Financing of Hospital Care, organized to carry out this research project, is conducting a pilot study in North Carolina.

A series of research projects is underway to determine the role of the community self-survey in health improvement, to determine the social processes involved when such an activity is undertaken, and to develop a set of principles of human organization that can be prepared as a handbook for use by communities interested in conducting their own health surveys. Two projects in this series are being carried on separately by the Social Research Service, Michigan State College, and by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Alabama. A third community project is being started by the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Additional studies in this series are planned.

Sheldon G. Lowry, research associate, has joined the foundation staff to prepare plans for an industrial health research program and to conduct research in this area. In addition, the foundation will finance industrial research in universities. The overall project will include a compilation and analysis of relevant research in the field of industrial health as well as in-plant studies to determine the relationship between health programs and such factors as productivity, industrial relations, absenteeism, and employee turnover. An additional project will attempt to determine the asso-

ciation between the health of the worker, his morale, and his job performance.

Plans are being developed for a study to investigate the incidence, prevalence, and costs of ill health in the population of the United States.

Further information and project reports may be secured from the Research Department, Health Information Foundation, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, New York.

**National Catholic Rural Life Conference.** Monsignor L. G. Ligutti, on his recent tour of the Middle East in behalf of the Point Four Program, succeeded in convincing some of the Oriental dignitaries of the great possibilities for improvement in their agricultural programs, through the use of hybrid seed corn. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference has recently shipped ten varieties of the seed corn, air express, to guarantee arrival in time for spring planting.

**Save the Children Federation.** A program advisory group of sociologists has been appointed. This group includes William B. Jones, Jr., University of Tennessee, chairman; Frank D. Alexander, community organization specialist, Tennessee Valley Authority; and Rev. Charles Jones, Campus Church, University of North Carolina. It will meet twice a year to study the federation's domestic program and to make recommendations.

William B. Jones, Jr., has been elected to membership on the Board of Directors of the federation.

**The Training School, Vineland, New Jersey.** James S. Wittman, Jr., who completed work for the doctorate in rural sociology at Cornell University in June, 1951, has been appointed manager of the Menantico Colony. The colony was established thirty-eight years ago as an experiment to determine the possibility of providing an environment in which mentally deficient boys could have a useful, productive, and happy life.

#### FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

Fulbright awards for 1953-54 are granted under the auspices of the Department of State and the Board of Foreign Scholarships. Competition for East Asia and the Pacific includes university lecturing and advanced research in Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, and Japan. Application forms and additional information are obtainable from: Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on Interna-

tional Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C.

#### CONFERENCES AND ASSOCIATIONS

**American Studies Association.** This association is a newly founded national society for the study of American civilization. Interested persons may obtain information about the organization from Robert Land, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

**Second World Congress of Sociology.** The International Sociological Association will organize the Second World Congress of Sociology under the auspices of UNESCO in Liege, Belgium, July 27 through August 4, 1953.

Sociologists of all countries of the world—professors, research workers, and students—are cordially invited to take part in this congress and are asked to enter into contact with the ISA secretariat for registration and detailed information.

The congress will be centered on the presentation and discussion of papers in two major fields: (1) Social Stratification and Social Mobility, and (2) Intergroup Mediation.

It will also include important discussions of Recent Development in Sociological Research and of the problems relating to the Training and Professional Activities of Sociologists.

The section on Social Stratification and Social Mobility will be based on a number of surveys of existing knowledge and current research to be prepared by participants in the ISA program of cross-national inquiries into stratification and mobility, and will focus on theoretical, methodological, and practical problems raised by the planning and implementation of comparative research on social status and social structure.

The section on Intergroup Mediation will be based on papers dealing with methods of adjusting intergroup conflict and will seek to advance knowledge concerning mediation, conciliation, and the furtherance of intergroup cooperation by bringing together reports on research and case studies analyzing factors making for success or failure in efforts to deal with conflict situations in various aspects of social life. These include international relations, industrial relations, race relations, and other important areas in which social science knowledge has been brought to bear upon problems of minimizing and resolving intergroup conflict and misunderstanding.

There will also be a general section for discussions of Recent Developments in

Sociological Research. This section will be devoted to the discussion of a series of reports on sociological research enterprises launched since World War II. Sociologists interested in presenting reports for this section should contact their national associations or the ISA secretariat, and should be prepared to have their final manuscripts ready by February 1, 1953, in order to allow sufficient time for scrutiny by general rapporteurs and prepared discussants, and for translation, duplication, and distribution by the secretariat.

Another section of the congress will be devoted to the discussion of problems relating to the Training and Professional Activities of Sociologists, and will be based on the general report, the national surveys, and other papers to be prepared within the framework of the Inquiry into the Teaching of Sociology and Related Disciplines undertaken by the International Sociological Association at the request and with the support of UNESCO.

All papers and reports to be prepared for the congress will be duplicated and distributed in advance and will be presented by general rapporteurs, followed by discussants for each section.

The basic registration fee for participants will be \$3.00 or its equivalent in pounds sterling, Belgian francs, French francs, or Norwegian kroner. This fee will cover admission to congress meetings and participation in social arrangements, and will insure receipt of all papers and reports pertaining to at least one of the sections of the congress. Participants wishing to obtain copies of papers and reports pertaining to sections other than the one to be covered by the basic fee will be able to obtain these at the cost of \$2.00 or its equivalent for each section.

Local arrangements in Belgium will be taken care of by an organization committee to be set up by Professor René Clemens of the University of Liege. The secretariat of this committee will, after September, 1952, provide any information required on local accommodation and other facilities. General information on congress preparations, and particularly on registration of participants and presentation of papers for the congress, will continue to be provided by the secretariat of the International Sociological Association, Grev Wedelspl. 4, Oslo.

#### PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE BYLAWS OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

We, the undersigned active members of the Rural Sociological Society propose the

following amendments to Article I of the bylaws, regarding membership dues, as published in the journal, *Rural Sociology*, March 1952, pages 100-101.

- (1) Eliminate Section 1, which reads as follows: "Any person interested in the objects of the society may become a member upon application and recommendation by a member of the society and favorable vote of the executive committee. It now duplicates membership qualifications stated in Article IV of the constitution.
- (2) Renumber "Section 2," "Section 1."

We also propose the wording of Article III, Section 2 be changed to read as follows: "The board of editors, *Rural Sociology*, shall consist of five elected members, one to be chosen each year for a term of five years in the same manner as the executive committee. The board shall appoint an editor-in-chief and a managing editor."

We also propose that the last sentence in Article V of the bylaws that provides for the election of a representative on the executive committee of the American Sociological Society be transferred to Article VII of the constitution and reworded to read, "A representative of the Rural Sociological Society on the council of the American Sociological Society shall be elected every third year in the same manner as the officers of the society. This representative shall be an active member of the American Sociological Society."

Robert A. Polson  
W. A. Anderson  
Edward O. Moe  
Howard W. Beers  
O. D. Duncan

#### JOHN PHELAN (1879-1952)

Professor John Phelan died, March 15, in Indianapolis at the age of 72. He retired in June, 1950, from Carleton College where he had been professor of sociology and anthropology for twenty-two years. After his retirement, he taught for one year at Hanover College in Indiana.

John Phelan received his A. B. degree at the University of Michigan in 1910, and his M. A. in 1912 from the same institution. While his major interest during graduate study was economics, especially as pertaining to rural life, he nevertheless remembered with appreciation the wonderful personality of Charles Horton Cooley.

Professor Phelan held various positions prior to his coming to Carleton College. He taught for a time at Central State Normal



School, Stevens Point, Wisconsin. Later he was appointed professor of rural sociology at Massachusetts Agricultural College, in Amherst (1915-1924), where he was also director of short courses and the summer session. Subsequently he was professor of education and head of the department at Michigan State College, East Lansing (1924-1927), where he also served as dean of the college and assistant to the president.

Professor Phelan was the author of *Elements of Rural Economics and Rural Sociology* (1914) and *Readings in Rural Sociology* (1919), and a contributor to a volume entitled *Society under Analysis* (1942).

During his tenure at Carleton College, Professor Phelan took an interest in the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, the Minnesota Conference on Social Work Education, and the National Associa-

tion of Schools of Social Administration. He served as vice-president and as a member of the executive committee in the latter organization.

Professor Phelan was devoted to the cause of social service, and his approach to rural sociology was within that frame of reference. He was a warmhearted associate, a loyal friend, a prodigious worker, a tireless servant, and was deeply earnest in his work. During his long and arduous career, he never lost faith in human progress, although he became more and more convinced in his later years that, if progress is to prevail, men of good will must be forever vigilant in combating bigotry and be dedicated to the task of improving the social order.

SAMUEL M. STRONG.

Carleton College.

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- Unique in the employment of social systems as a unifying frame of reference. Integrates findings from fields of rural sociology, sociometry, applied anthropology, and social theory.
- Rural life is treated in terms of seven clear-cut elements: family and informal groups — locality groups — social strata — religious groups — educational groups — political and occupational groups — and rural service agencies.
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VOLUME XXXIV

MAY, 1952

NUMBER 2

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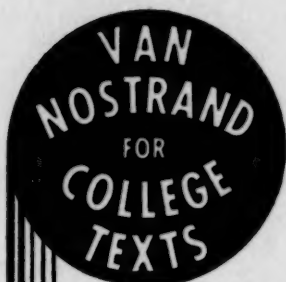
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